

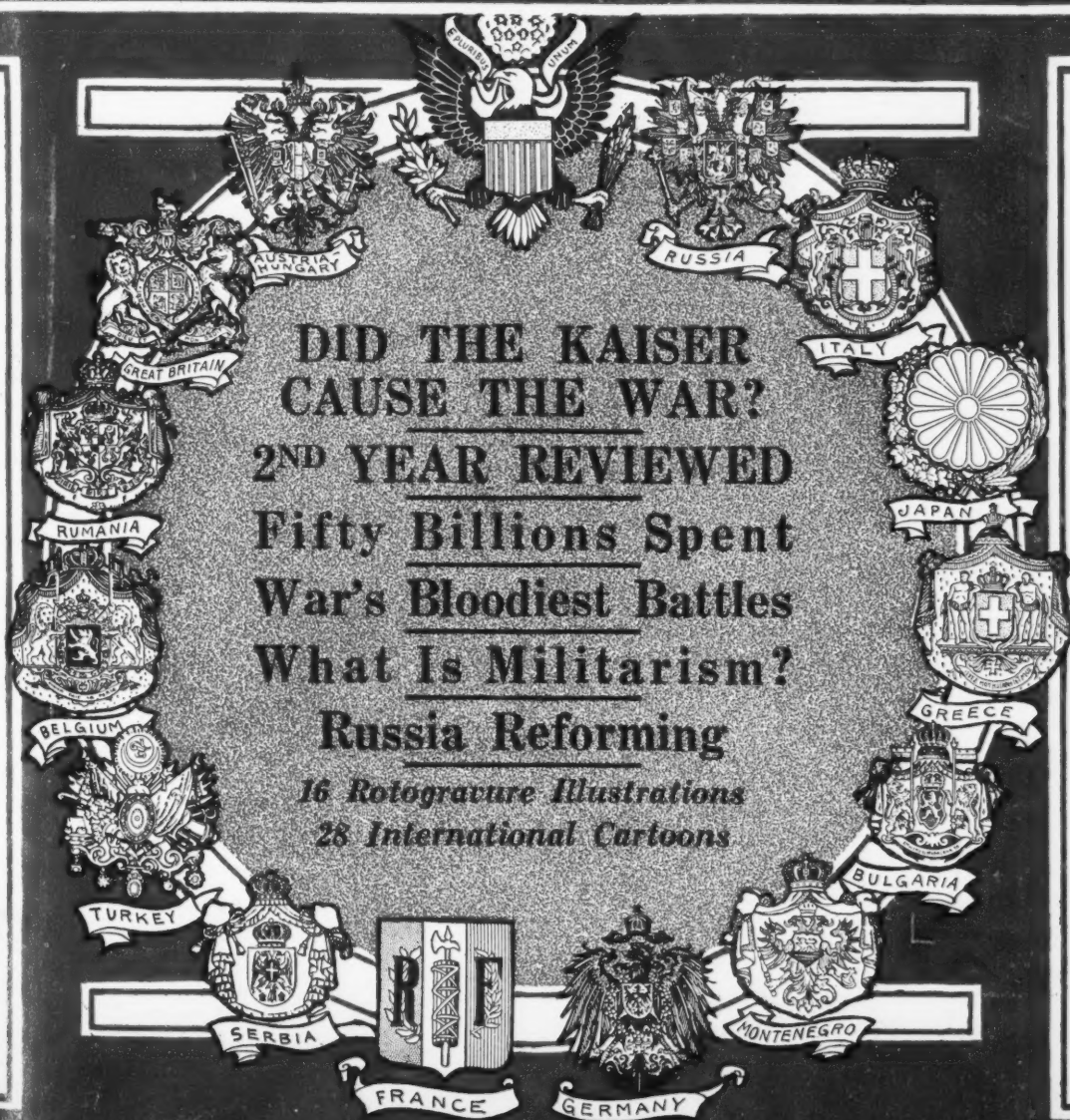
# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF The New York Times

VOL. IV.  
NO. 6

SEPTEMBER—1916

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*The EDITORS of CURRENT HISTORY  
MAGAZINE of The New York Times*

August 31 1916.

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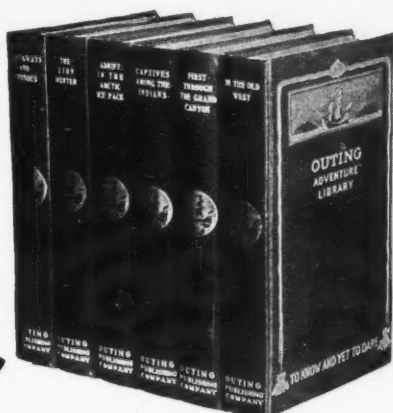
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# CURRENT HISTORY

*A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times*

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September, 1916

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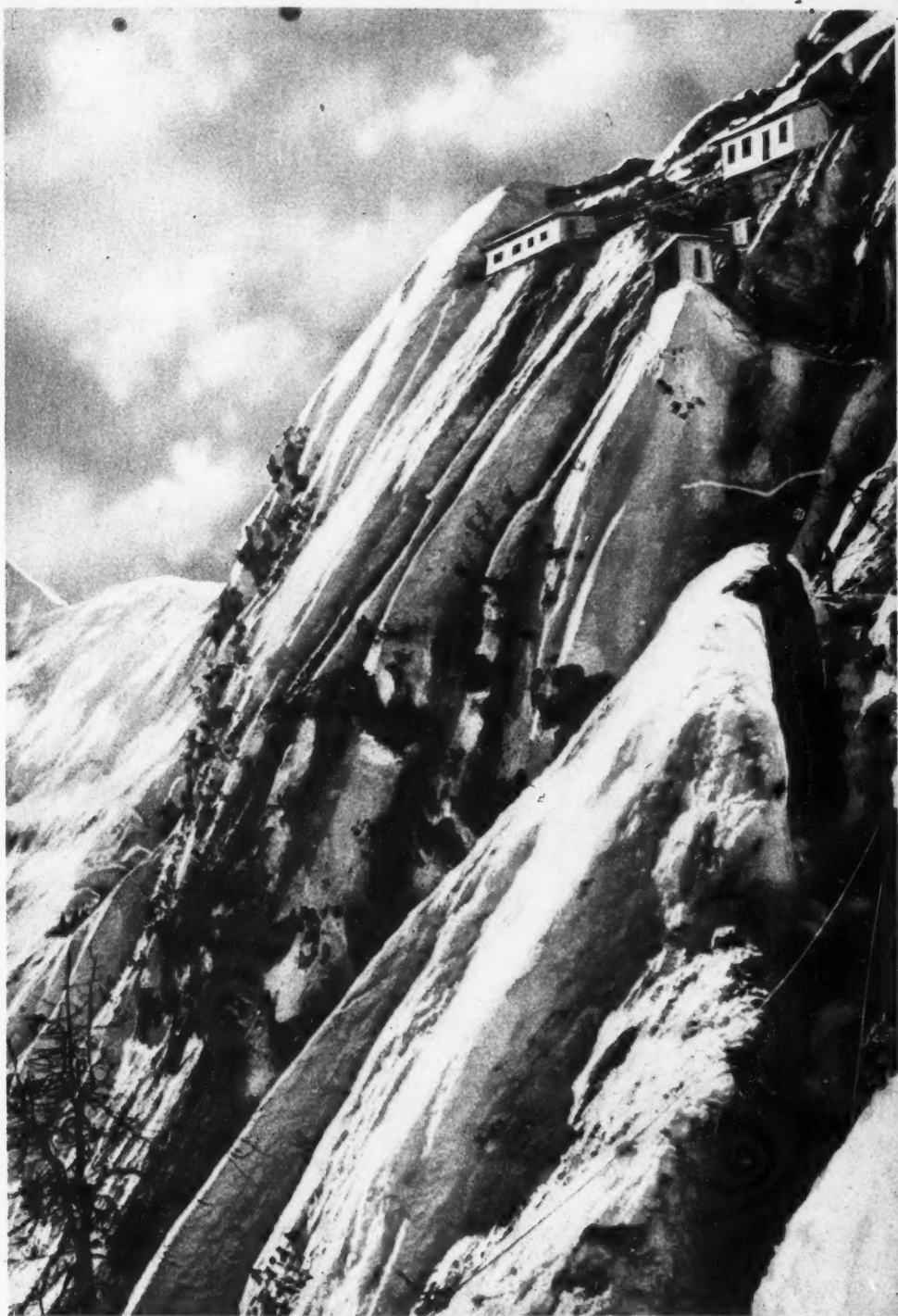
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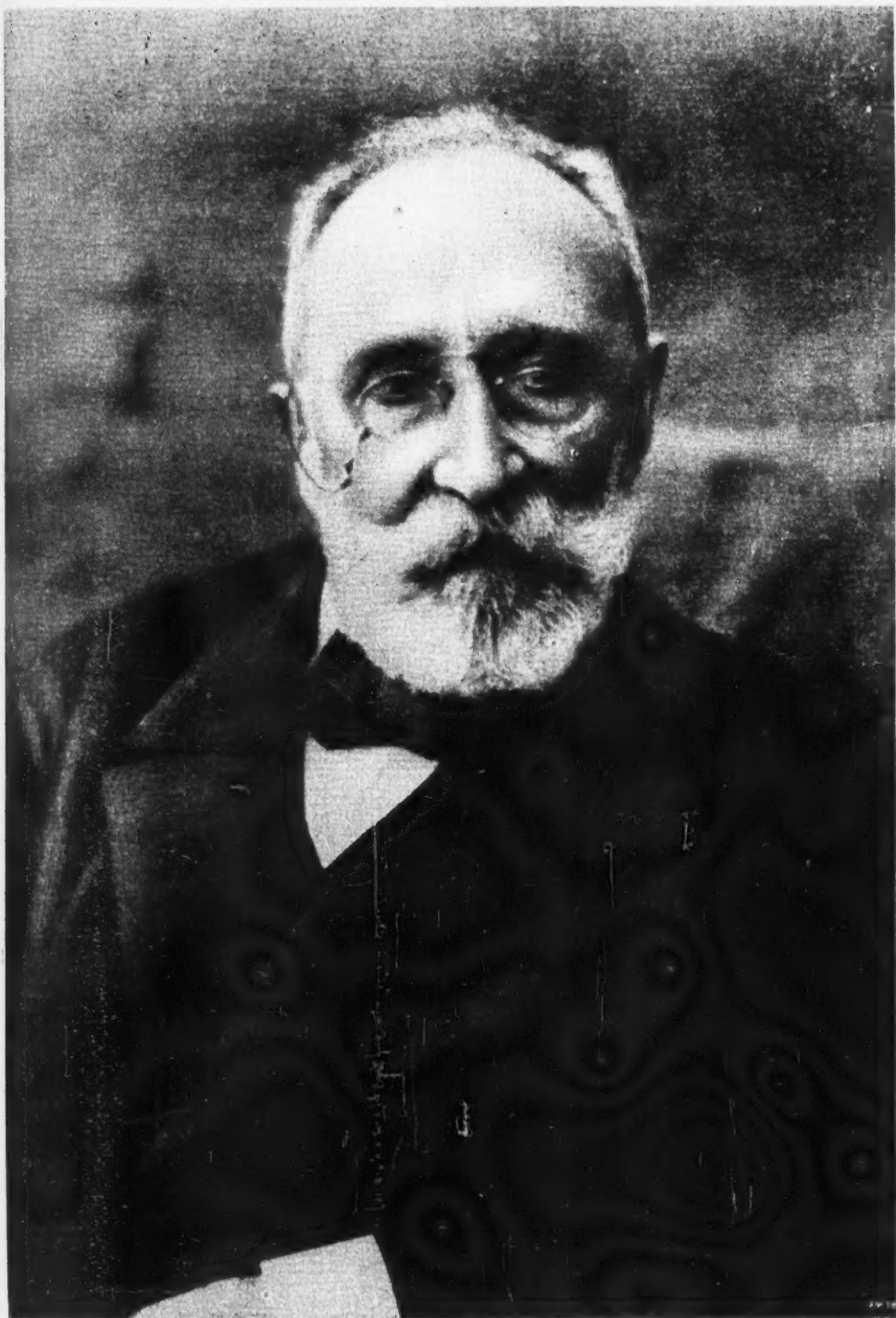
BATTLING AMID ETERNAL SNOWS



Austrian Shelter Huts Among the Dolomite Alps, Illustrating the Difficulties of the Present Italian Offensive.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

PAOLO BOSELLI



Italy's New Prime Minister, Who Succeeds Salandra, and Who Is An Eminent Professor, Lawyer, and Oldest Member of the Italian Parliament.  
*(Photo from Central News Bureau.)*

# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

SEPTEMBER, 1916

## WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

### THE ALLIES MORE CONFIDENT

THE progress of the war in the month since the last issue of CURRENT HISTORY confirms the conclusion then reached that the end of the conflict is not definitely in sight. Elsewhere appears a symposium of the views of the official spokesmen of the belligerent nations issued at the end of the war's second year. The one thing upon which they all agree is an inexorable resolution to continue the struggle relentlessly until one or the other is vanquished. It is *guerre à outrance*.

The fighting in August was, if anything, fiercer and bloodier than at any previous time, with the advantage on the side of the Allies. It is now evident that Austria is pressed for reserves and that her troops have lost their dash. The Germans still have fresh reserves from no man knows where; they are full of spirit, defiant, and as dauntless as any troops Germany has sent forth, but she has now met foes who are equal in equipment and munitions, and who surpass her in numbers; she has been compelled steadily, even if slowly and stubbornly, to give way in France and along the Russian border. The Russians are making very slow progress in Asia Minor, but the Turks have met another serious check in their campaign against the Suez Canal. The Germans have clearly lost their initiative at Verdun and are losing some of their gains in that region, while the Italians are driving the Austrians not only from the positions they gained in the Spring, but, by the capture of Gorizia, seem to have their grip now on all of Istria, including Trieste.

Talk of peace is heard in Germany, but the Allies frown upon the suggestion, believing that Germany has passed her zenith and that her collapse is only a question of time. Prophecies as to the time yet required to win the war, at the present rate of progress by the Allies, range from one to three years, but some firmly believe that there will be no sanguinary battles after the snow flies and that peace pourparlers will be in progress before the Winter ends.

\* \* \*

### TEUTON GAINS AND LOSSES

AT the end of the second year the Teuton Powers occupied 20,450 square miles of French and Belgian territory, 88,000 square miles of Russian, and 25,000 square miles of Serbian. In the second year they added no French or Belgian conquests; on the contrary, they lost a hundred or more square miles late in July, and are losing a little more each day. Their losses in Russia have been considerable, though they added 30,000 square miles in 1915-16. The Turkish losses in Asia Minor have been several thousand square miles, and the Austrian losses in Italy have very greatly exceeded their previous gains. Germany has lost practically all her colonial possessions.

The Central Empires to date have lost in killed, missing, wounded, and prisoners about 5,125,000, and are spending at least \$40,000,000 a day in defensive operations. The Allies' casualties in the 24½ months of war exceed 6,000,000, and they are spending in actual warfare over \$60,000,000 a day. The sea is closed to the Germans, the blockade is tighter than be-

fore, and the food question is a serious problem in the Central Empires. There seems to be a recrudescence of submarine activity and a developing possibility that Germany may resume her previous policy of sinking merchant vessels without warning, in which event an open break with the United States would be possible.

The Allies in mid-August seemed about to launch their offensive against Bulgaria from Saloniki, and it is believed Bulgaria will not resist whole-heartedly. There is a story that Bulgaria may yet renounce her alliance with Germany and Austria, in which event it is believed that Rumania would join the Entente. Should this occur, the collapse of the Turkish defense would speedily follow and the end come in sight.

\* \* \*

#### PURCHASE OF DANISH ISLANDS

A TREATY has been agreed to by the Danish and United States Governments for the sale of the small islands owned by Denmark in the West Indies—St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz—to the United States for the sum of \$25,000,000. The treaty has been ratified by the lower house of the Danish Parliament, subject to a popular vote of approval. Opposition has developed in the upper house among the Conservatives, who oppose the sale on general principles. In the American Senate also there is some opposition because the price is regarded as excessive. The total area in acres of the three islands is about 90,000, one-third not tillable. The population in 1901 was 30,527—98 per cent. negroes—against 38,000 in 1860; there are only about 600 whites, nearly all Danes. The imports of the islands aggregate about \$1,500,000 a year, of which the United States furnishes about 50 per cent.

Our civil war developed the necessity of a naval base and harbor of refuge in the West Indies, and in 1865 negotiations were opened for the purchase of these islands from Denmark. The matter dragged along, and the United States Senate finally rejected the treaty, but in 1892 negotiations were resumed and

the subject has been alive ever since. Fourteen years ago Denmark was willing to take about \$5,000,000 for the islands. Since the acquisition of Porto Rico, which is only twenty-six miles away, the necessity for a naval base in the West Indies has been met, but the harbor at San Juan does not admit the heaviest dreadnoughts, while Charlotte-Amalie, the port of St. Thomas, is situated on one of the finest natural harbors in the world. It is felt that this harbor should be in our possession, especially since the construction of the Panama Canal.

President Wilson favors the purchase at the price offered, as do Senator Stone, the Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Lodge, the ranking Republican member of the committee; but the feeling is growing that the price is exorbitant and the treaty may fail to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

\* \* \*

#### JAPAN'S GROWING POPULATION

THE first census of Japan was taken in 1643, following the anti-Christian riots. Christianity had been strictly prohibited and the enumeration was ordered to confirm the religious faith of the people. The total is not given, but in 1721 another census was taken, and the total return of population was 26,065,425. Thereafter a census was taken at irregular intervals, which showed very little change in the total in 100 years, remaining slightly in excess of 26,000,000, exclusive of the Samurai and other ruling classes. When the country was opened to foreign intercourse a system of vital statistics was established, and in 1873 the official census showed a population of 33,300,694. A census was ordered to be taken every six years by a law of 1871, with births added and deaths subtracted.

In 1874 the population had reached 33,625,646, and now began a rapid increase at an accelerating ratio. By 1879 it was 35,768,547; in 1888 it was 39,607,234; in 1898, 43,763,855; in 1908, 49,588,804; in 1913, 53,356,788. The increase in the five-year periods shows an in-

creasing ratio, being about 8 per cent. between 1908 and 1913. Japan has 361 persons to the square mile; the United States, 27 2-3; France, 191; Germany, 311; the United Kingdom, 376.

\* \* \*

#### BRITAIN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM UNDER FIRE

**L**ORD HALDANE exposed an amazing state of affairs in the British educational system in a recent speech in Parliament, which created a profound sensation and may lead to a complete reform of English educational methods after the war. He stated that out of 2,750,000 boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16 in England 1,450,000 get no education after they reach 13, and only 250,000 go to school after 14 years of age. He stated that 5,350,000 boys and girls in England and Wales between the ages of 16 and 25 get no education at all, only 93,000 get a full-time course, and 390,000 a part-time course at evening schools. The discussion grew out of the proposed trade combinations after the war, and moved Lord Haldane to suggest that, to maintain trade primacy, wider skill and technique in scientific, chemical, and engineering subjects were prerequisites. These could be obtained only by a complete reorganization of educational methods. He cited the fact that there were only 1,500 trained chemists in England, whereas four German chemical firms alone which had played havoc with British trade employed 1,000 chemists. He also called attention to the prodigious wastage of fuel and by-products sufficient in value to pay interest on nearly three billion dollars, due to insufficiency of industrial experts in the country.

The questions raised precipitated a discussion in the House of Lords, in which some of the leading intellectuals participated, among them Earl Cromer, the Bishop of Winchester, Viscount Bryce, the Bishop of Ely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Curzon, the Archbishop of York, and others. The discussion developed into a debate as to the relative importance of classical and scientific education. Earl Cromer said the "total moral collapse of Germany

was one of the most extraordinary and most tragic events recorded in history," and he could not help feeling "that one of the causes of that deterioration of character was that the atmosphere created by humanistic study had lost its hold on German public opinion. The whole national mind of Germany had apparently become materialized." The Bishop of Winchester also referred to the "painful efficiency" of Germany and warned the country not to neglect the humanistic and classical studies. Viscount Bryce thought that the German habit of obedience had cost them much of "initiative, independence of spirit, and free individuality." He believed the fault in England was lack of interest on the part of parents in the progress of their boys' studies, and that there was need to make the teacher's career more effective. He said if there were more demand for experts in England they would be found, but England did not yet appreciate, as did Germany and the United States, the important effects of the application of science to industry.

The discussion brought such acute criticism on the educational system that Arthur Henderson, the Minister of Education, resigned his portfolio, though he still remains in the Cabinet. A commission will be appointed to take up the subject. In the debates the peers frequently referred to America, and held that there had been a change in this country, humanistic education being at present not to so great an extent subordinated to scientific or materialistic study as formerly.

\* \* \*

#### PROSPERITY THROUGH WAR

**S**OME noted economists are predicting a period of unexampled prosperity in Europe after the war. They argue that millions of men will have been killed or incapacitated for work, and that there will be such shortage in the labor market to replace the billions of structures destroyed that wages will rapidly advance and prosperity proportionately prevail. Statistics prove that active work with labor in demand at high wages invariably produces good times among the masses.

In fact, the war itself is having a most appreciable affect on pauperism, proving again the thesis that unemployed are not unemployable. Walter Long, President of the British Local Government Board, reports that the number of paupers in England decreased 100,000 between 1914 and 1915; pauperism in London declined 20 per cent., vagrancy in England and Wales, 66 2-3 per cent.; the number of homeless people sleeping out in London had fallen from 431 in February, 1913, to 44 in March, 1916. The conclusion is unavoidable that unemployment is mainly the effect of ill-organized industry, with its concomitants of drink, crime, pauperism, and destitution, but with the industrial organization keyed up by military rigor and efficiency the residuum of the idlers and wasters is sucked up and the whole social fabric practically regenerated.

\* \* \*

#### AMERICAN DEFENSE

THE House and Senate have agreed upon the American Defense Program; it is the heaviest naval budget in history and the largest army program in our annals. The total defense program agreed upon requires \$661,418,000, \$110,000,000 to be available at once for the navy. The regular army and National Guard are reorganized, bringing the enlisted peace strength of the army to 187,000, which can be expanded by Executive call to 220,000; Federalizing the National Guard would also add 450,000 men at war strength.

For maintenance of the reorganized army and militia and supplies and equipment Congress appropriated \$267,597,000. More than \$13,000,000 of this is for development of aeronautics, \$11,000,000 for Government plants for the manufacture of armor plate. The Army bill also carried an appropriation of \$20,000,000 for a Government plant to produce nitrate for use in manufacturing munitions.

Provision was made for extension and improvement of the coast defenses with appropriations aggregating \$25,748,050. To furnish needed officers in the army and the navy the personnel of the Naval and Military Academies was enlarged,

the former to 1,760 and the latter to 1,152. For the Military Academy a special appropriation of \$1,225,000 was made, the fund for Annapolis being carried in the Naval Appropriation bill.

Congress also provided for the creation of a Council for National Defense, composed of Cabinet officials and citizen experts to co-ordinate the military, industrial, and natural resources of the country in time of war.

In the Navy bill the President is authorized, in the event of emergency, to increase the strength of the navy to 87,000 enlisted men. A Senate amendment providing for 6,000 apprentice seamen, in lieu of 3,500 proposed in the House bill, was approved.

The building program for the navy as fixed by the Senate and concurred in by the House is as follows:

—Senate.—	
	1st Yr. 3 Yrs.
Battleships .....	4 10
Battle cruisers .....	4 6
Scout cruisers .....	4 10
Destroyers .....	20 50
*Coast submarines .....	27 58
Fuel ships .....	3 3
Repair ship .....	1 1
Transport .....	1 1
Hospital ship .....	1 1
Destroyer tenders .....	2 2
Fleet submarines .....	9 9
Ammunition ships .....	2 2
Gunboats .....	2 2

\*In addition, the Senate bill authorizes one submarine to be equipped with the Neff system of submarine propulsion and to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, \$250,000.

\* \* \*

#### MASS FEEDING IN GERMANY

THE City of Berlin recently began erecting enormous public dining halls in order to solve the food problem by communal feeding. One kitchen contains sixty-three boilers which hold 50,000 pints of food, and hundreds of women are employed in the cooking. The kitchen is in the centre and the eating rooms extend from it in two enormous wings. Potato and meat cutting machines are operated by electricity, and motor conveyors carry the food from the principal kitchens to the subordinate kitchens, where food is served from noon until 4 P. M., the following being the bill of fare: Monday, rice and potatoes; Tuesday, meat;

Wednesday, beans and fat; Thursday, meat and macaroni; Friday, beans and potatoes; Saturday, cabbage and mashed potatoes; Sunday, goulash (minced meat) and potatoes. A portion equal to about one and one-half pints is sold for 8 cents.

Public dining halls of this kind are now operated in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Leipsic, and will be generally introduced; it is understood that Berlin is preparing to provide at least 400,000 pints of food per day, but it is claimed that the food problem has been so well solved that the public dining halls may be abandoned.

\* \* \*

IN the year ending June 30, 1916, the merchant shipping cleared from the ports of the United States showed a tonnage of 25,500,000, of which 23,000,000 was foreign; the previous high record was 24,800,000 tons in the year ending June 30, 1914. It should be remembered that this increase is in the face of the German blockade, the closing of the Black Sea, and the withdrawal of all Austrian and German ships from American trade. United States shipping to South American ports in the year increased nearly 500 per cent. and to Europe nearly 250 per cent. Argentina received 190,000 tons of American shipping in the year, against 5,000 in the year ending June 30, 1914, and Colombia 100,000 tons, as against 285 tons in 1914.

\* \* \*

THE British War Office has promulgated an order stating that "No person shall from the date of this Order, until further notice, buy, sell, or deal in raw wool grown or to be grown on sheep in Great Britain or Ireland during the season 1916." The French Government has commandeered at fixed prices all wool in France and Algiers.

\* \* \*

THE stupendous costs of the war are shown in the comprehensive tables of the war loans of each of the belligerents as set forth in detailed figures in this issue. Great Britain's twelfth vote of credit was authorized Aug. 24, 1916. Its amount was \$2,250,000,000, bringing the total sum voted by Great Britain for the war between August, 1914, and Au-

gust, 1916, up to \$14,160,000,000. The total domestic, civil, and war expenditure of the United Kingdom is now \$30,000,000 a day, which includes large sums spent in the acquisition of American securities to be used as a credit against liabilities to our country. The average daily expenditure of Great Britain for the war remains at about \$25,000,000.

\* \* \*

THE income tax in Great Britain for the current year is in some instances more than five times what it was prior to the war. Its operations are best illustrated by the following examples: On an income of \$2,500 before the war it was \$65; in the current year it is \$255. On an income of \$5,000 a year it has risen from \$140 before the war to \$695. An income of \$25,000 was taxed \$1,310 before the war; the tax in 1916-17 is \$7,510. An income of \$500,000 was assessed for taxes in 1913-14 \$62,290; in 1916-17 it is assessed \$285,645—over 50 per cent. If the \$500,000 income is liable also for the excess profits tax the total tax collected will be \$300,000, or 60 per cent.

\* \* \*

THE hanging of the body of Signor Battisti, ex-Deputy for Trent in the Austrian Reichsrat, by Austrians at Trent, after he had been taken as a wounded prisoner of war at the head of his Italian troops, has caused intense indignation throughout Italy. Battisti was an ardent irredentist in the Austrian House, and when Italy declared war he joined his native Trentinos under the Italian flag. It is reported that he killed himself rather than be captured by the Austrians, and that his corpse was hanged on a gibbet at Trent. The Germans and Austrians liken his case to Casement's.

\* \* \*

ENGLAND is gasping because Winston Churchill is being paid \$5,000 for four articles which he is contributing to The London Sunday Pictorial, but in consequence of heavily advertising these articles the circulation of The Pictorial jumped 400,000 in two weeks and is now approximately 2,500,000, the most widely circulated weekly in the world. The articles are not long and the rate of pay-

ment is no larger than has been made by some American weeklies; it is considerably below the price reported paid to former President Roosevelt for his magazine contributions.

Mr. Churchill says Great Britain could not possibly have prevented the war; he maintains that Emperor William "definitely decreed the terms of the Serbian ultimatum and at that time had already resolved to launch his armies."

\* \* \*

**G**REAT BRITAIN has arranged through a syndicate of American bankers a \$250,000,000 loan, secured by \$300,000,000 collateral securities, \$100,-

000,000 being American, an equal amount Canadian, and a third bonds and securities of Argentina, Chile, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, and Holland. The loan will be covered by two-year 5 per cent. notes, to be sold at 99; the proceeds will be expended in the United States to take up maturing loans. The French recently borrowed \$100,000,000 for a three-year period. This, with the Anglo-French joint loan of \$500,000,000 makes a total of \$850,000,000 loaned the two nations by the United States within twelve months. It is estimated that \$1,500,000,000 American securities have drifted back to this country since the war began.

## Interpretations of World Events

### Why the Big Push Drags

**T**WO very significant pronouncements, made within the last few days, shed a great deal of light on the comparative slowness of the allied offensive on the Somme. The first comes from the French General Mallerre, who, after fighting brilliantly in the earlier battles in Belgium and Northern France, has written brilliantly of the later incidents and strategy of the war. General Mallerre recurs to a point he made a few weeks ago—that the conditions of a great successful offensive must include three elements—a material preponderance, a moral mastery, and closely co-ordinated action. Co-ordination, he says, is at last being reached by the Entente Powers, with the result that the shuttle strategy—the rapid transfer of troops between east and west which, as Bernhardi and Jagow clearly showed, was the fundamental principle of the German Great General Staff—has been rendered impossible. With the Entente Powers successfully attacking in France, on the Isonzo, in Armenia and Galicia, the Central Empires must strain every nerve merely to hold each front with the troops there; they cannot be moved without extreme peril to the weakened sector. Moral ascendancy was decisively won, he adds, before Verdun, where the

mightiest effort the German Army ever made was broken against the rock of French valor; at Erzerum; at Lutsch. There remains the third element—decided material preponderance. British and French artillery have shown astonishing power on the Somme, and to this power the German Generals have very fully subscribed. But the declarations of Sir Samuel Montagu, the British Minister of Munitions, and of his French colleague, M. Albert Thomas, make it clear that both nations expect to double, perhaps treble, their weight of guns in the next few months. We may therefore accept the conclusion which he has just put forward—that the "big push," effective as it undoubtedly is, will be followed by a still bigger push a few months hence, a push which the Allies expect to end the war.

### General Kuropatkin Goes to Turkestan

**W**HILE on the Teuton side Archduke Friedrich, who originally faced the Russian drive, was superseded by General von Linsingen, and Linsingen has now been superseded, as to the chief command, by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, there has been but one change in the opposing Russian command, and no change in the command on the southern front. And, in passing, it is in-

teresting to record the captures made by the four Generals who are operating under General Brusiloff, as they have just been published by the Russian General Staff. For the period from June 4, when Brusiloff's drive began, to Aug. 12, the figures are, beginning at the north: General Kaledin, 109,509 officers and men; General Sakharoff, 89,215; General Stecherbatchoff, 57,016; General Letchitski, 102,717. Thus the total captures made by the Czar's forces in nine weeks were over 358,000 men and officers, besides 405 cannon, 1,326 machine guns, 338 mine and bomb throwers, and 292 powder carts. The one change in the Russian command has been the transfer of General Kuropatkin to Turkestan, where he goes as Governor. For this transfer there are probably two reasons—the first is, that General Ruzski, who has twice been withdrawn from the front to undergo an operation, is now sufficiently recovered to resume command of the Riga-Dwinsk sector, which Kuropatkin held temporarily; the more important reason is that no man in the Russian Empire knows the whole Central Asian region—and this now includes Northern Persia—better than does Kuropatkin. For ten years he was Governor of the transcasian region, whence he was called to the War Ministry at Petrograd, where he was when the Russo-Japanese war began. Kuropatkin also knows Persia well. General Ruzski, who goes back to the Riga-Dwinsk sector, also fought in the Russo-Turkish war, and saw service in Manchuria. At the beginning of the war he was head of the Kieff military district, and commanded the army which marched on Lemberg in the Autumn of 1914.

#### General Smuts in German East Africa

**GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS** who, when the war began, was Minister of Defense of the Union of South Africa, is now writing "lastly" across the last protectorate of Germany's extensive colonial empire. This is, in reality, a much more arduous task than that so incisively performed by General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of the

South African Union, in the first months of the war, in the conquest of German Southwest Africa. For the latter protectorate, while it has an enormous area, 322,450 square miles, is sparsely populated—one inhabitant to each four square miles—or 80,000 in all, and a great part is open desert. Not only is German East Africa considerably larger, having 384,000 square miles, (as compared with 208,780 square miles for the German Empire in Europe,) but it has a population just a hundred times larger than the former colony, namely, 8,000,000, and much of the country, both along the coast and among the giant mountains in the north, is densely wooded, and therefore very difficult country to fight an offensive campaign in. When the war began there were 4,000 Germans in the East African protectorate, a large proportion of whom formed a defensive force, while at least 40,000 natives had been trained and enrolled as a fighting force. Against these black troops, in their native forests, General Smuts has been fighting, with Belgian aid from the Congo and Portuguese help from Mozambique, and has been constantly tightening the line drawn around them. But the work is hard, since the Germans had covered the whole area of the protectorate with a system of intrenched forts, abundantly supplied with munitions and connected by wireless stations with her other African colonies and by relay (?) with her European territories. Everything was in readiness for the expected war, as is conclusively shown by the fact that, after two years' fighting, the German forces and their black auxiliaries are still well supplied with ammunition, though for the whole period they have been cut off by the British fleet from their home base.

#### The War and the Temporal Power of the Pope

**DURING** the war of 1866, which restored the province of Venice to Italy, Austria—supported in this policy by Napoleon III.—steadily resisted the desire of the new Italy to make Rome the capital of the nation. This preserved to the Popes the "temporal power," or power, as temporal sovereigns, over the

Papal States, which, until 1860, had had an area of some 16,000 square miles, (about twice the size of Massachusetts,) with a population of 3,000,000. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out, in 1870, Napoleon withdrew his troops from Rome, and that city, with what remained of the Papal States, was incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy. The Vatican and Lateran palaces, with their gardens and the villa of Castel Gandolfo, were guaranteed in perpetual possession to the Popes; within these palaces they retain a technical sovereignty. But there has remained, in the Vatican, the unrelinquished claim to the temporal power, which would mean the severance of Rome from the Kingdom of Italy; it ceasing to be the Italian capital; the reconstitution of the Papal States as a temporal sovereignty.

In theory at least Austria has consistently supported the claim of the Vatican to temporal power; and Italian publicists are making it clear that, at the beginning of the war, both Austria and Germany revived that claim, with the hope, first, of winning the Vatican over to the cause of the Central Empires, and, through the Vatican, influencing Catholic opinion throughout the world. There was a second purpose—that of breaking the unity of Italy along the old line of cleavage between the Vatican and the Quirinal, the Church and the State. But, say the Italian writers, both the bribes proffered to the Vatican for its support of the Central Empires have proved vain. Cardinal Gasparri gave assurances that the Vatican had no ambition to triumph with the help of foreign bayonets. Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, placed his seminary at the disposal of King Victor Emmanuel's troops. Cardinal Bisleti, an intimate friend of the Austrian Emperor, "burned his Hapsburg bridges behind him." In their own words, the Italian Catholics "laughed heartily at the Protestant Germans, who in Germany defend Luther and in Turkey Mohammed; when they saw them suddenly become the advocates of the temporal power of the Pope." The Italian Catholics declare that the war has separated them from Austria and Ger-

many, but has brought them closer to France and Belgium.

The culmination of this patriotic Italian movement has just been reported from Rome, in the announcement that the Sovereign Pontiff has directed the Italian Cardinals (30 out of 62 members of the Sacred College) "to pray for the success of Italy and her allies." The effects of this decision are likely to be momentous. On the one hand, it imposes on the Catholic Emperor Franz Josef, and on the Catholic Kings of Saxony and Bavaria, a penalty which is little short of excommunication—in some ways, much heavier than excommunication; on the other, it will do much to bridge the chasm between the Church and the State in Italy; to make the Bishop of Rome the effective head of a national Italian Church. It is the first time, perhaps, in centuries, that the See of Peter has taken so definite a stand in a moral question which affects the political life of all Christendom, and it represents the final alignment on the side of the Allies of a great force hitherto neutral. Finally, it puts an end to any possibility of intervention by the Holy See with the purpose of securing peace which might be detrimental to the cause of the Entente Powers. The results of this decision are quite incalculable.

#### Trieste and the Austrian Fleet

**W**ITHIN a few days after the fall of Gorizia it was announced that the fleet of Austria, which had been using the fortified harbor of Trieste as its base, had departed in the night for an unknown destination. The Franco-British fleet, which had been blockading Trieste, with Italian aid, appears to have been caught napping, and the Austrian ships seem to have reached Pola, at the end of the Istrian Peninsula, in safety. If Pola becomes untenable there remains Fiume, further east, and connected by rail direct with Budapest, through Croatia. The Austro-Hungarian fleet—for, like the army, it is held in common by both halves of the Dual Monarchy—is far from a negligible factor. Powerful modern battle-ships have been built, well-armed and manned. Austria counts four dread-

noughts, built since 1910, and displacing more than 20,000 tons; with six large and six smaller pre-dreadnoughts, the larger displacing from 10,600 to 14,500 tons, (three of each class.) They have been completely outclassed by the powerful French battleships which, by arrangement with Great Britain, are released from the English Channel to do service in the Mediterranean, France having a number of super-dreadnoughts with guns almost as heavy as those of England, and English ships are co-operating with these in blockading Austria. But one element of the Austrian fleet has been exceedingly active—the submarines, of which Austria had at the beginning of the war about a dozen, and there have been reports of German boats being sent by rail and assembled at Trieste. Very probably the activity of these Austrian submarines, by making it impossible for the French and English warships to wait off Trieste, co-operated in effecting the just recorded escape of the Austrian fleet. Italy has a battle fleet of seven pre-dreadnoughts and six dreadnoughts, displacing about 20,000 tons. Four super-dreadnoughts were laid down in 1914 to displace 28,000 tons and to carry a main armament of eight 15-inch guns, with a speed of 25 knots. It may well be that these four very powerful ships are already in commission. It is quite evident that, should the Austrian fleet elect to come out, there are in the Mediterranean waters the materials for a very pretty fight.

#### Socialist Agitation for Peace

**B**OTH neutral and belligerent Socialists have in the past month manifested a strong agitation for an early peace. Representatives of six neutral countries met at the International Socialist Conference at The Hague. A peace program was elaborated by the conference and unanimously adopted. The complete re-establishment of the independence of Belgium and Poland, the creation of a democratic federal union of the Balkan States, and the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question through a plebiscite among the inhabitants of those provinces were the points agreed

upon by all the delegates to the conference. A resolution was passed condemning the proposed allied economic trade war on the Central Powers, and another resolution advocating the settlement of international disputes through compulsory arbitration was adopted.

In Germany the Socialist National Committee issued a manifesto in which it states that the committee renewed its appeal to the Imperial Chancellor to lift the embargo on the discussion of peace conditions. Speaking of the designs for conquest credited throughout the world to the German Government, the manifesto says that "the moment appears to have arrived when the German people should give its free and unrestricted opinion regarding these plans of conquest, the realization of which would be only the germ of new wars and only result in prolonging the war." A universal agitation for the expression of Germany's opinion on the subject is, therefore, urged. In France sentiment among the minority Socialists, favoring the resumption of international Socialist relations, has of late been markedly on the increase. By a vote of 1,824 to 1,075 the National Council of French Socialists, at its quarterly session held in Paris on Aug. 7, decided not to resume international relations.

#### The Greek Elections and Saloniki

**I**T is not difficult to trace a connection between the delay in the projected allied drive from Saloniki and the coming general elections in Greece. Indeed, the next few weeks are likely to be decisive, and certain to be critical, in the life of the Hellenic kingdom, and, without doubt, the Entente Powers are strongly influencing the result. Their justification, in international law, is that Russia, France, and England are the three powers which freed Greece from the heavy yoke of Turkey, and which by treaty stand sponsors for the well-being of the Greek Nation. In that treaty each of the three powers bound itself not to put a Prince of its own reigning house on the throne at Athens, with the result that German and Danish Princes succeeded each other on the

Greek throne, and, perhaps more important, at least one very masterful German Princess—Queen Sophia, Kaiser Wilhelm's sister. Perhaps through her influence King Constantine has tried to make Greece a strongly monarchical country, practically taking into his own hands questions which the Greek Constitution assigns to the Ministry, as representing the nation. Eleutherios Venizelos declares, and undertakes to prove it at the coming election, that the Greek people violently resents this "usurpation." Should Venizelos be returned to power, with a strong majority, King Constantine has two courses open to him—either to accept the declared will of the Greek people or to abdicate. In either case, all practical power will be in the hands of the Cretan statesman, whose sympathy is with the Entente cause. That sympathy may very easily, if his Parliamentary majority is large enough, bring Greece into the war on the Entente side, with an army of, perhaps, 200,000 well-equipped men. It is, therefore, entirely comprehensible that the drive northward from Saloniki should wait on the Greek elections. Should these go strongly in favor of Venizelos, and should the drive be completely successful, it would have two chief results—to restore the sovereignty of Serbia and to cut Bulgaria and Turkey off from the Central Empires. The Entente Powers have very strongly influenced the result of the coming elections by compelling Constantine to demobilize the army and send the soldiers home to vote.

#### The Next Sea Fight

INTERESTING figures have recently become available which make it possible to answer the question: What were the forces of the British and German fleets the morning after the battle of Jutland? Which is the same thing as saying what their forces will be when they meet next in battle. Both countries are rapidly building new ships. England, it is reported, turns out a destroyer a day, besides doing valuable work on battleships and battle cruisers; and Germany, while not as well equipped in navy yards, is, nevertheless, constantly

adding to her fleet. So that we have not the final figures for either country, but we can come fairly close to them in each case. At the end of May, just before the great sea fight off Denmark, England had 63 battleships. Of these 23 were pre-dreadnoughts, built before 1905; 10 were dreadnoughts, built between 1905 and 1910, and 30 (nearly one-half of the whole, and, in tonnage, much more than one-half of the whole) were super-dreadnoughts. None of these was lost in the battle of Jutland. Against these, Germany had 20 pre-dreadnoughts, (5 Kaisers, 10 Braunschweigs, 5 Deutschlands,) 8 dreadnoughts, and 12 super-dreadnoughts, or 40 battleships in all. Of these 40 battleships (of which 26 appear to have taken part in the fight) she lost in the battle of Jutland, according to Admiral Jellicoe, 2 battleships of the dreadnought class and 1 of the Deutschland class, which were seen to sink, and, the English Admiral thinks, perhaps one more battleship. This leaves Germany 36 or 37 battleships, as against 63 for England. England had, further, not less than 10 battle cruisers able to do from 28 to 30 knots, the largest of them carrying 13.5-inch guns. Of these, off Jutland, she lost 3, (Queen Mary, Invincible, Indefatigable,) leaving her not less than 7. She also lost 3 cruisers, but of these she has well over 100 left. Germany seems to have had 6 battle cruisers on the morning of May 31. She has admitted the loss of the Luetzow, which almost exactly matched the Queen Mary, lost on the English side. Admiral Jellicoe thought she also lost another battle cruiser and several light cruisers. This would leave Germany 4 or 5 battle cruisers, as against 7 or more for England; or 70 capital ships for England and 41 or 42 for Germany. It is interesting to compare with these the figures for this country: The United States has 22 pre-dreadnoughts, 8 dreadnoughts, and 4 super-dreadnoughts, or 34 capital ships; to these the present program adds 8 capital ships for 1917, (4 battleships and 4 battle cruisers,) 42 capital ships; but what the naval strengths of England and Germany will be when these 8 new

ships are ready it is of course impossible to say.

### Sazonoff's Resignation

THE resignation of Sergius Sazonoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs in Russia, long celebrated as Russia's chief Anglophile, came as a thunderbolt from the blue to the friends of the Allies when it was announced on July 23. There was considerable speculation as to the reasons of his retirement. Rumors to the effect that it signified a change in Russia's foreign policy were rife. Premier Sturmer, who took over Sazonoff's portfolio, replied to these reports with a statement in which he says:

The change in the post of Foreign Minister must not be considered in any sense an indication of the variation of Russia from the line of conduct of the last two years toward her allies. The agreement with them will not be changed. Russia considers it her duty to support all measures England desires to accomplish with regard to Germany, and I, as a tool in the hands of the Emperor, will do my best to work hand in hand with our allies, and will strive to strengthen the friendship between Russia, England, and France.

Premier Sturmer, becoming Foreign Minister, gave up the post of Minister of Interior, which he had held. To this position Alexei Khvostoff, a member of the Imperial Council, has been appointed. As Minister of Justice, a reactionary of the most pronounced type, M. Makharoff has been appointed.

The real cause of Sazonoff's resignation is said to have been a disagree-

ment on the Polish question between M. Sturmer and himself. On July 11 there was held a council of Ministers at the General Headquarters. The Polish and Jewish questions were discussed among other things. Premier Sturmer proposed that Poland be granted an autonomy consisting merely of broad local self-government. M. Sazonoff offered a plan based on the promises to Poland made by the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch, ex-Premier Goremykin, and himself. This plan provided for a full Polish autonomy. Most of the Ministers approved of Sazonoff's plan. Decision was, however, postponed until the following Cabinet meeting. Meanwhile the Premier made it clear that he objected to the project offered by Sazonoff. The latter, in view of the stand he had taken on the subject during the last two years, could not abandon his project unless he resigned from his position as Foreign Minister, which he did. The resignation of Sazonoff, coming in the nature of a demonstration, may force the Premier to alter his plans in regard to the future of Poland. As to the Jewish question, it was decided to renew its discussion with a view to rendering final decision as soon as Minister of Finance Pierre Bark returns from his visit abroad. The sentiments of the Ministers were in favor of making permanent through legislative action the temporary abolition of the "pale" of settlement for the Russian Jews.

## The Issue at Stake in Greece

*M. Venizelos, former Premier of Greece, and still leader of popular opinion, recently made the following statement of the situation in the course of a long article in the Kyrix:*

The constitutional question which will be laid before the Greek Nation is whether the Crown has the right to form its own opinion on great national questions, and to impose it independently of the people's verdict by the repeated dissolution of Parliament, which it justifies on the ground that it has responsibilities toward the Almighty regarding which no explanations are owed to the people. In the matter of foreign policy the Greek people must thoroughly realize that Greece, in view of the position which she attained after the two victorious Balkan wars, cannot exist as an independent political and economic organization without friends and allies in the Balkans for the protection of her Balkan interests, nor without friends and allies among the great powers for the protection of her Mediterranean interests; and also for financial assistance, without which Greece can never recover from the deplorable financial situation which has been the result of the nine months' mobilization.

# WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[AMERICAN VIEW]

## The Month's Military Developments

From July 15 to August 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

*Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry*

[See Map of Gorizia, Page 991]

THE operations of the last month have followed strictly along the lines of those of the preceding month. In other words the Allies, who alone have been on the offensive, have held to the plan of attacking the Central Powers on all fronts simultaneously in order to neutralize the advantage which the Central Powers possess by reason of their interior position and shorter line of communications. On the fronts in France, in Russia, from the Pripet to the Carpathian Mountains, in Italy both in the Trentino and on the Isonzo, and in the Far East in the Caucasus region, these offensive movements have been in progress. It is no wonder that in same places the Teutonic allies give evidence of cracking under the strain.

### THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

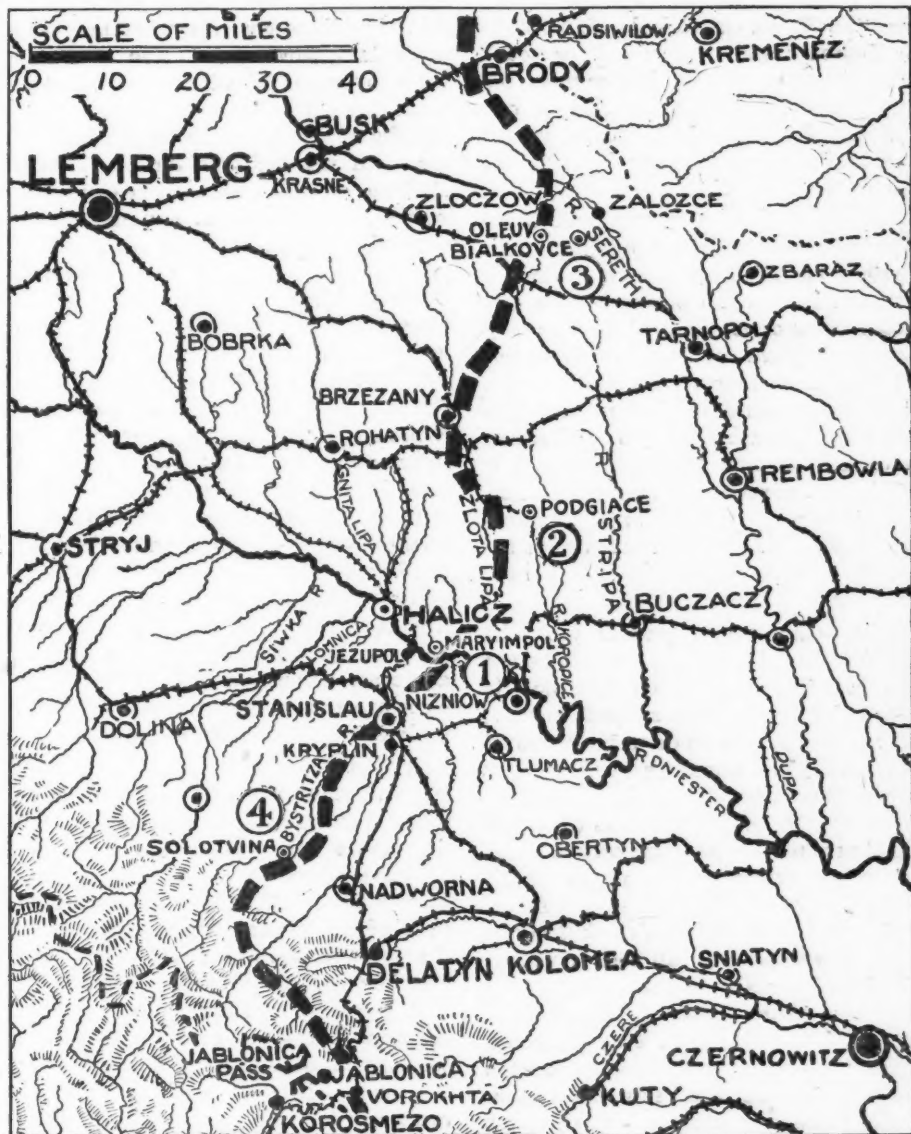
The most apparent sign of this giving way is noted in Galicia, where the Russian victories have been continuing without interruption. Last month closed with the Russians apparently held along the Stokhod all the way from its source to the Pripet. The Russians had forced the line of the Styr, but when they reached the Stokhod were held back in spite of the desperate attempts to force a crossing. Being checked here, the attack drifted to the south.

It is to be noted that a success in the south by which the Russians obtain the Galician capital, Lemberg, will have the same effect on the line in the north as if they had captured Kovel. Kovel is, or would shortly be, utterly untenable once Lemberg was in the hands of the Russians. Not only do all the railroad systems of Southern Russia and of Galicia

centre in this town, but, what is almost as important, behind Lemberg there is nothing to give protection to a defensive line until Przemyśl is reached. Kovel is equally necessary to the retention of Lemberg. Therefore, the Teutons in order to preserve their present lines were confronted with the necessity of holding both of these towns.

The Russian campaign during the month past has been most skillfully designed to keep the Teutons completely in the dark as to just which point the main drive was to be against. The attacks shifted first southward and then back again to the north. Then another blow was struck in the south. The result was confusion in the German mind as to just what Russia was really after, a confusion that, as this review is being written, has almost produced disaster. The first break to come was on the line of the Stokhod. In the neighborhood of Gulevitsche, where the great bend in the Stokhod begins, the Russians forced the passage of the river after one of the hardest battles of the war. The Teuton line guarding the entire bend was immediately thrown into jeopardy. Occupying a very sharp salient, the German commander saw the side being crushed in. He had to fall back or lose all the troops and material in the angle. Accordingly the angle was vacated and the most important part of the line of the Stokhod—immediately east of Kovel—was in the hands of the Russians.

It was but natural to presume that, with this line in their hands, the Russians would attempt to drive through directly on Kovel. But they did no such thing. Instead, the point of attack suddenly



RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT ON AUGUST 16, 1916. COSSACKS SWEEPING ALONG THE NORTH BANK OF THE DNIESTER HAVE OCCUPIED MARYIMPOL (1), SEVEN MILES FROM HALICZ, THE KEY TO LEMBERG. TO THE NORTH THEY HAVE TAKEN PODGIACE (2), AND BIALKOVCE (3), AND IN THE SOUTH, HAVING CAPTURED STANISLAU, THEY ARE THROWING TROOPS ACROSS THE RIVER AT SOLOTVINA (4).

shifted, and a blow was struck in Northern Galicia, which gave them control of Brody. Simultaneously, a co-ordinate effort was started south of the Dniester against Stanislaw. Both efforts were successful. The line of the upper Sereth, which the Austrians had held since the days of the great Russian retreat, was

forced, and the Russians took all the heights on the west bank.

The advent of von Hindenburg as chief in command of this section made little difference. The Russians were not to be held back. Simultaneously the line along the Dniester was pushed forward, Stanislaw taken, the line of the Zlota Lipa River

turned, and the entire Austrian position along the Stripa outflanked. A break in the Teuton lines either north or south meant disaster. At the last minute, the Stripa line was abandoned and in two days the Austrians had retired nearly twelve miles to the line, or what was left of it, of the Zlota Lipa.

The Zlota Lipa, however, will serve only as a temporary expedient. The Russians have crossed it near its mouth and have in absolute possession the last fifteen miles of its course. It is merely a stopping place for the Austrians, not a defensive position at all, as its value as such was destroyed before the Austrians ever reached it. The Russian forces are already ten miles beyond it and are only seven miles from Halicz, the southern key to Lemberg. Austria must make a still further retirement before she can be considered even temporarily safe.

It is beginning to appear that the Stryj-Lemberg-Kamionka line will be the next definite stop. Once this line is forced, if it is, the Russian path is easy, and no halt will be made until Przemyśl is reached. The campaign of the earlier days of the war will thus be duplicated. Naturally, the Teutonic lines in the north cannot retain their present positions with such a retirement in the south. They will be similarly affected and, in spite of all the courage and defensive skill of the Germans, will have to fall back in unison with the Austrians in the south. It is as if the entire Teutonic line were a huge pillar resting on a base composed of the Austrian forces. One by one the stones of this base are being eaten away by the Russian attacks. If this process of erosion is not checked, the entire pillar must of necessity fall.

#### ITALY'S GREAT SUCCESS

While the Russian attacks were in their most desperate phase, and Austria was pushed to the limit to protect the flank of Bothmer's army along the Stripa River, Italy suddenly launched a terrific attack against the Gorizia bridgehead on the Isonzo River. Gorizia is guarded by three powerful defensive features, Mount Sabotino, the heights of

Podgora, and Mount San Michele. The second of these has been in Italian hands since last November. The other two have remained steadfastly in Austrian possession, in spite of the most terrific attacks of which the Italians were capable. All the fighting for the Doberdo Plateau, of which we have read so much in the official reports, had for its purpose the flanking of the San Michele position, as it was only by possessing these positions that the Gorizia bridgehead could be taken. The latest Italian attack was launched against Mount Sabotino and San Michele. After a preliminary bombardment of two days, Sabotino fell into the hands of the Italian infantry in the first attack, and San Michele soon met the same fate. Within four days the entire position of the Austrians about Gorizia had fallen into Italian hands. It is self-deception to try to minimize the importance of this victory. The mere fact that the Austrians have for the last two years made such a desperate defense of this river is sufficient proof of the strategical value which their General Staff placed upon it.

A brief study of the map of this country will show what the Italians gained when they crossed to the east bank of the Isonzo and entered Gorizia. Their object is first of all Trieste, and the Istrian Peninsula. This must be realized in working toward an appreciation of the value of the Isonzo crossings. Without Gorizia, the Italians would in the first place be fighting on both sides of the river, but without adequate means of communication between the forces on the two banks. It is axiomatic that when an army has to fight astraddle of a stream its operations can only be successful when there is a broad unobstructed avenue between the opposite shores. This was obtained when Gorizia fell.

Another point is that, had the Italians attempted to drive to the southward from Gradisca and Monfalcone, which points they had taken early in the war, their left flank would have been completely in the air, with no natural or artificial obstacle on which to rest. The only result could have been disaster. Now the position is reversed.

It is the Austrians whose flank is exposed, the Austrians whose main line has been turned and who are being forced from their entire group of positions along the Isonzo River.

The development of the Italian campaign from now on appears, in its essential elements, exceedingly simple. It is to seize the entire Austrian line from Tolmino to Monfalcone, and between these points to straighten their own lines beyond the bends of the Isonzo. Then, with their left flank resting on Tolmino, to swing from that town as a pivot, their right resting continuously on the Gulf of Trieste. So far, they have taken a long preliminary step in this direction. Tolmino is under fire, the Doberdo Plateau has been cleared, and the line from Gorizia to Monfalcone almost entirely straightened out. They are going ahead rapidly and are apparently fully able to cope with any resistance the Austrians can make. For the first time since the declaration of war they are meeting the Austrians on something like even terms. The struggle between the two powers will, for this reason, be watched with increasing interest as the campaign develops.

In so far as this move of Italy affects the war as a whole it is to be carefully noted that the plans of the Entente seem to focus on the destruction of Austria as an armed force. Russian attacks against the main German line, while they have not ceased, have lessened in intensity. The great Russian effort is concentrated against the shattered and battered remains of the Austrian Army. Every effort is being made to sever the Austrian Army from its German neighbor and destroy it. The entire plan of Brusiloff seems to have for its objective not territory, not this town or that, but the men in the Austrian Army.

Italy's blow brings the end of Austria nearer as a distinct possibility. It is good strategy and sound, this business of eliminating the weaker of the Germanic powers, so that full attention may be concentrated on the stronger. It is this strategy which the Germans employed against France at the outset, and which was defeated at the Marne. It was this

strategy which they repeated against the Russians only to be defeated on the Pripet. The difference between both these cases and that of Austria lies in the question of reserves. Austria is the most nearly exhausted of any of the belligerents. The Allies have yet to reach the point where exhaustion of reserves seems possible. The Austrian loss since the first Russian offensive was launched on June 4 has been in prisoners alone, approximately 400,000 men. This means that nearly a million men have been put out of action. Harking back to the early days of the war, when Russia put out of action practically the entire first Austrian Army which composed all the regular "standing" troops, it can be well understood why Austria has not any great body of men on which to fall back.

#### THE WAR IN FRANCE

On the western front the month has not brought any developments of great interest. The main struggle has been for the Baupaume Plateau, which begins just north of the village of Pozières. The British attack was launched from low ground, which gradually mounted to the plateau, after which it drops gently but steadily away to Bapaume. The lip of the plateau has been reached, and is apparently solidly in British hands. The progress was slow and costly, but all advantages of terrain now rest with the British. The Germans, realizing this, have been counterattacking continually, and further British advances have been at least temporarily prevented. The French have made numerous minor gains, but the accomplishments of the Allies during the month have been insignificant except in a purely local relation.

The great battle of Verdun, however, has been brought to a definite conclusion and is a complete German defeat. This is the most tragic occurrence of the war for Teuton arms. A gigantic effort was made, the best soldiery of which the German Army can boast was used up in the effort. The net result has been a few square miles of territory occupied and a casualty list that must approach the half-million mark.

In the Far East, fortune has been

shifting. The Russians by a succession of swift strokes captured the town of Erzingan and completed the occupation of the Caucasus region.

At the same time, the road to Sivas, the last Turkish base before Angora, was laid open. Further south, the honors went to the Turks, who

have taken the towns of Bitlis and Mush.

None of these operations has yet reached the point, however, where they exert any influence on the main theatres of operations. It is to the European fields that we must look for definite results.

[GERMAN VIEW]

## The Situation on Three Fronts

By H. H. von Mellenthin

*Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*

[See Map of Western Front, Page 999]

**L**ORD DERBY, Parliamentary Under Secretary of the British War Office, recently expressed himself as follows:

"The only way to win the war is to kill Germans. This we are doing, and so are the Russians and the Italians."

Thus speaking he voiced the strategy of destruction which with the initiation of the Verdun campaign took the lead in the military operations. It has been said of the great offensive on the west front that it is analogous to that of the Germans before Verdun and that it is being carried on in pursuance of the rules and the lessons which the campaign against the great French fortress has brought. This means that the victory which clears the path to peace must be based upon the destruction of the enemy.

From the point of view of the Allies the question of the ways and means by which to bring about a decision was simplified at the moment the opening of the great offensives confined the decisive combat to the theatres of operations in the West, East and South. Human material and munitions are the decisive factors. The proper employment and utilization of these two factors on the one hand, and on the other the ability to counterbalance such an advantage on the opponent's side, determine the strategic superiority of generalship. It is from this standpoint that the events of the last few weeks in all theatres of war must be reviewed.

### RUSSIAN DRIVE DWINDLES

The development of the Russian offensive on the southeastern front up to Aug. 15 is marked by the following phases:

1. The abandonment of the Russian advance against the line Sarny-Kovel.
2. The occupation of Brody by the Russians.
3. The Teuton counteroffensive in the Carpathians.
4. The opening of the Russian campaign against Lemberg from the south-east and south.

The attacks against the railway line Sarny-Kovel from the south, from the region of Lutsk, and from the east, were aimed primarily at the possession of the important railway communication; the larger strategic aim was to pierce General von Linsingen's front at the point where it joins that of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, and thus to extend the great offensive to the northernmost sector of the Russian battle line. The same purpose is pursued by the Russian attacks in the Pinsk region.

From the south the Russians advanced as far as the western bank of the Stokhod, compelling Linsingen to regroup his front. Against the newly formed front all further Russian attacks were launched in vain. The battle on the Stokhod line in Northern Volhynia ended about the middle of last month with heavy losses to the Muscovite attackers, particularly to the Russian Guards, and therewith

## THE DUKE OF AOSTA



Commander of the Italian Army Which Captured Gorizia on August 9,  
and Which Is Advancing Toward Trieste.

# GORIZIA REGION--AUSTRIAN STRONGHOLD WON BY ITALY



By Capturing the Commanding Positions on Monte Sabotino and Monte San Michele on August 6, the Italians Broke the Austrian Resistance, Took the Famous Bridgehead on the Podgora-Gorizia Road, and Occupied Gorizia Itself and the Neighboring Plateaus.

(Drawing © 1916, by the New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial.)

the northern sector was—temporarily at least—eliminated from the great offensive.

On July 8 the Russians occupied Brody. The drive against this Galician city, situated close to the border and on the railway Rovno-Dubno-Brody-Lemberg, had been launched from the Radsivilov road, whither runs that from Dubno and where the army of Boehm-Ermolli stood.

After the occupation of Brody it was asserted that now the way to Lemberg from the east was clear to the Russians. The advance from this direction, however, was never begun. The reason is that in attempting it the Russians would have exposed themselves to the danger of having their right flank attacked and rolled up by the Linsingen army and their left flank enveloped by the left wing of Count von Bothmer's forces.

On the extreme southern wing of their great offensive movement the Russians had advanced from Czernowitz along the Pruth to the eastern Carpathian pass of Jablonica. This pass was to be forced in order to open the road to the Hungarian plain, with Marmaros Sziget as the immediate goal. The Russian advance in the direction of this plain also has been discontinued. The army of General Pflanzer-Baltin extricated itself from the menacing envelopment. The attempt to break through the Teuton lines had failed in the southernmost sector of the great offensive as similar attempts further north had failed. The Teuton lines held. From new positions immediately before the Carpathians a Teuton counteroffensive was launched.

At the moment of this writing comes the news of the capture by the Russians of Worochta, on the railway to Stanislaw, and the town of Jablonica as well as other minor Teuton positions, including Solotvina. Reports from Petrograd indicate a renewal of the offensive in the Carpathians and Vienna admits a slight withdrawal of the Teuton lines. There are, however, no indications thus far of a Russian movement on this theatre sufficiently strong to throw the whole

Teuton extreme wing back into the Carpathian passes, and even in that event the natural defensive qualities of these passes preclude a Russian break through to the plain.

The developments of the military situation on the southeastern theatre of war have led to a reconstruction in the high commands on the side of the allied Central Powers. The previous seven great army groups—Hindenburg, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, Archduke Josef Ferdinand, Linsingen, Boehm-Ermolli, Bothmer, and Pflanzer-Baltin—have been merged into two groups, one commanded by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the other by the Archduke heir apparent, Karl Franz Josef.

Hindenburg's group of armies now comprises the following fronts:

1. Dwina front as far as Dwinsk.
2. South of Dwinsk as far as Wygonowskoje Lake, (north of Baronovitchi.)
3. Front of Prince Leopold of Bavaria as far as Pinsk.
4. Linsingen front from the Pripet marshes to a point northeast of Brody, (comprising the Stokhod front.)
5. Vladimir-Volynski front under General Tersztyanszky von Nadas, almost as far as the Galician frontier.
6. Brody front under General Boehm-Ermolli, to a point west of the Sereth headwaters.

Army group of Archduke Karl Franz Josef:

1. Bothmer front, from southwest of Brody with the Sereth front northwest of Tarnopol almost as far as the Bukovina border, comprising the region north of Stanislaw.
2. The Pflanzer-Baltin army has been regrouped. The front from Delatyn to the Carpathian passes has been placed under the command of General Koevess, who led the Austro-Hungarian forces in the Balkan campaign. The front of Pflanzer-Baltin stretches to the Moldava in the southern Bukovina.

With regard to these changes in the high commands it is noteworthy that the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent has been intrusted with the command of the very front on which there rage at this moment the most important battles,

namely, the army group of Count von Bothmer, against whose centre and right wing the Russians are now directing the most significant operations of the great offensive with their campaign against Lemberg from the south.

It is an old tradition of the Hapsburg House never to expose any of its members at a point where a defeat might threaten. The appointment of Archduke Karl Franz Josef to this command is the more significant inasmuch as he was recalled from the Italian front—where he had been in chief command—immediately after the abandonment of the Austro-Hungarian offensive against Italy on the south Tyrolean frontier. We may, therefore, conclude that Vienna does not regard as really threatening the military situation created by the inauguration of the Russian campaign against Lemberg.

The further Russian advance after the capture of Brody against Lemberg was discontinued because Linsingen threatened the Russian right, Bothmer the Russian left. The offensive against the army of Count von Bothmer in the centre and on the right wing had been launched in order to initiate the campaign against Lemberg from the south and the south-east, that from the east having failed.

The right wing and the centre of Bothmer's army were compelled to evacuate their entire positions on the Stripa. In the course of the subsequent fighting against Bothmer's right wing the Russians under General Letchitsky occupied Stanislau. A further advance led the Russian Army under General Tcherbatcheff across the Rivers Koropiec, Zlota-Lipa, and Khomanka, and on to Maryampol. This means that the Russian left wing (Letchitsky's army) and the centre (Tcherbatcheff) joined hands on the comparatively short front, Stanislau-Maryampol. The further Russian advance against Lemberg is to proceed beyond Halicz against the Galician capital, but it is already meeting at this writing (middle of August) vigorous resistance to the west of Stanislau.

The great Russian offensive, which was opened on the immensely long front from the Pripet marshes down to the

Bessarabian frontier, has dissolved itself into the campaign against Lemberg.

Major Moraht, the well-known German military critic, writes:

"The elasticity of our lines has preserved our main forces unweakened for coming events. Threatened sectors have been strengthened in order to attain a decision, and the organization of victory for which we are hoping has been prepared by a reformation of the armies and a reconstruction of the commands."

#### ITALIANS AT GORIZIA

On the 7th of August, after the fighting on the Tyrolean south frontier had become desultory and lost its mobile character, the Italians launched an offensive on the Isonzo front, as a complement to the general offensives of the Allies. Two days later the Italians occupied Gorizia, capital of the Austro-Hungarian crownland of the same name. The possession of this city and district had been the immediate objective of the Italian attacks since the end of May, 1915.

After the Italians had taken Monte Sabotino in the north and Monte San Michele south of Gorizia, the bridgehead of that city had become untenable. Possession of this bridgehead necessarily resulted in the Italian occupation of the City of Gorizia.

Two main possibilities now feature the prospects of the further Italian offensive movements on this front. An advance in the direction of Trieste, or one in the direction of Laibach.

As long as Italy was conducting her own war, consideration of "Irredenta Italia" pointed to Trieste as the objective of any further advance after the fall of Gorizia. Now that Italy, too, has been drawn into the Allies' community of action, it is different. For this community of action Laibach represents a factor of great importance. It is via Laibach that the way leads to the Steiermark and into Hungary's interior. But the way is a long and difficult one.

With the occupation of Gorizia the Italians have advanced but a tiny step in their "march on Vienna" begun fifteen months ago. The old, formerly beautiful city lies in a basin of the Isonzo Valley.

In order to enjoy, unpunished, the possession of the city, the conquerors must necessarily also have the heights on the eastern bank of the Isonzo, situated to the north and south of the valley. To the east of the city these heights come close together and leave only a narrow path between them, the romantic valley of the Wippach, (Vippachio.) And beyond these heights, the most important of which is covered by the Ternova Wood, lies barren "Karst" terrain. As long as the Isonzo front north of Gorizia is held by the defenders, there can be no question of an advance against Laibach.

The shaping of the military situation on the Isonzo front since the fall of Gorizia indicates that the Italian offensive has chosen Trieste as the immediate goal.

The Austro-Hungarian troops after the loss of Gorizia had at first taken up new positions on the heights northeast of the city and on the Vertojba line, three kilometers to the south, and there resisted an attempt at a continuation of the Italian drive. Through the loss of Gorizia the Austro-Hungarian line had been bent only at one point. The dent was extended by the occupation of the Doberdo Plateau, southwest of Gorizia, and of the territory immediately in front of the Karst Plateau to the east. Against this Italian base of attack the defenders have taken a new, firm position, which runs from the shore of the Adriatic to Monte San Gabriele.

To the north and northeast of Gorizia the defenders have established a further base of support, on the plateau commanding the plain of Gorizia, whence they are stemming the hostile advance.

Seven Italian storm attacks against the heights east of Gorizia, directed from the Wippach Valley, have been beaten off with extremely sanguinary losses to the Italians. In this region the Italian advance has been brought to a standstill. The subsequent development of the offensive will depend upon the outcome of the battles at Monte San Gabriele and Monte Santo, north and northeast of Gorizia. These battles at this writing are being prepared by powerful artillery bombardments.

#### ALLIES' FAILURE IN FRANCE

The great Anglo-French offensive on the west front, which was begun July 1 on a front of thirty-three kilometers, already has degenerated into trench warfare. The mobility of the fighting on this front consists merely of the gain of a fraction of a trench or the loss of a little wood on this or the other local front. Toward the end of July there were great artillery preparations on the part of the Allies on a wide front, foreshadowing a new drive on a large scale. This drive was to be launched on a line on both banks of the Somme, south of Pozières, on the road from Albert to La Boisselle and Pozières, and further to Bapaume, from Vermandovillers against Péronne. This front comprises the centre of the Anglo-French battle line and the right wing held by the French. Evidently the Allies proposed to re-establish, by a united blow, the lost strategic cohesion between the centre and the right wing. The battle areas which had been isolated and localized by the German defensive initiative were to be joined together once more. But this attempt at a main blow also failed. The result was wholly out of proportion to the extent of the preparations and the strength spent.

Today the Anglo-French front runs as follows: Thiepval-Pozières-Bazentin-le-Petit-Longueval-Maurepas-west of Clery-west of Biaches-Belloy-Soyecourt. With the capture of Maurepas in the first week of August the British scored one more great success. Since then, up to date, the fighting has become weaker and weaker. The "great offensive" which was to prepare the driving out of the Germans from Northern France and Belgium has dissolved itself into the "Battle of Picardy," and there is today only trench fighting left, the trenches continuously changing hands, particularly on the line Pozières-Thiepval.

Should the Allies really succeed, in the course of the coming battles, in occupying the line Bapaume-Comblès-Péronne, they would even then have accomplished nothing but a local success in the form of a dent in the German front on a comparatively small stretch. The prospects

for the further development of the military situation as created by the great offensive on the west front are made clear—est by the statement of the German General Staff that the Germans have established behind their real battle line defensive positions equal to those wrested from them.

Before Verdun the mobility of action has completely ceased. Now and then there are artillery duels on the eastern bank of the Meuse, before Vaux, and in the region of Fleury village, and still more rarely on the west bank. The Germans evidently have withdrawn strong forces, and the French are unable to take the offensive.

As for the incidental theatres of war, interest centres upon the successes of the Turks against the Russians in Persia and on the Caucasus front.

The Ottomans have recaptured Hamadan in Persia and the Armenian cities of Bitlis and Mush. The Turkish advance against the Suez Canal, on the other hand, has netted no appreciable gains.

The "great offensive" of the Allies from Saloniki is still "impending," as it has been ever since the Macedonian front was established.

The local fighting around Doiran Lake is without any military significance whatsoever.

## The Fall of Gorizia

### Italy's First Important Victory

[See Graphic Drawing of Gorizia Region Opposite Page 991]

THE Entente Allies at last are in full tide of their concerted movement to close in upon the enemy from all sides, and to end the great European war as our civil war was ended—by pressing the enemy all the time on every front, giving no time for respite and no opportunity to utilize the advantage of inside lines.

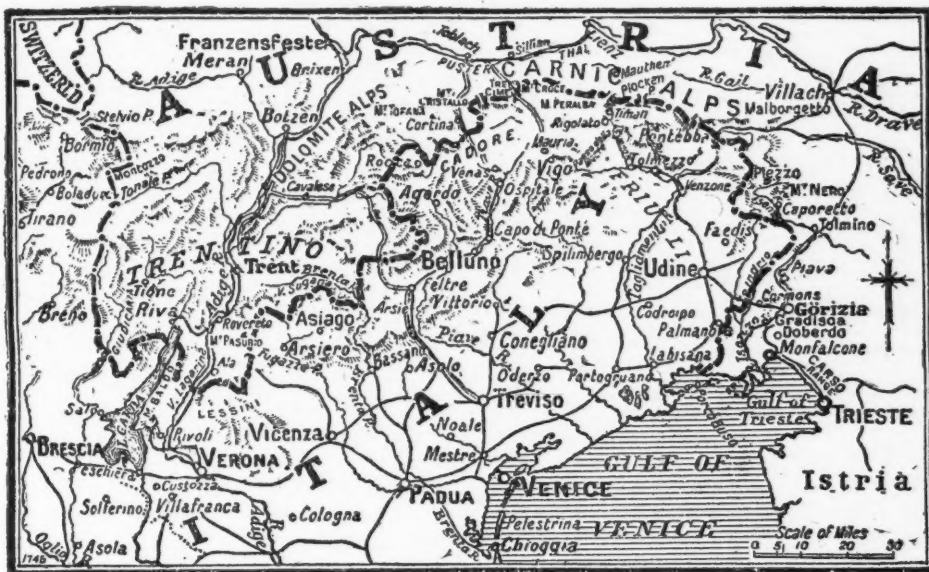
Italy's part in this united offensive has given her the most spectacular victory of the month, as well as the first important success of Italian arms in this war. The capture of the Austrian stronghold of Gorizia by King Victor Emmanuel's Third Army, which is commanded by his cousin, the Duke of Aosta, has removed the chief obstacle on the way to Trieste. The latter city is now said to be garrisoned by Germans in expectation of the coming attack.

Courage, imagination, and strategy all figured in the taking of Gorizia, and parts of the story read like romance. The town is dominated by three mountain heights—Sabotino, Podgora, and San Michele. The Italians already held Podgora, but as long as the Austrians retained the other two mountains it was

mere suicide to try to take the Podgora-Gorizia bridgehead in the valley below. The capture of these mountain keys of the famous little city was achieved partly by means of powerful new guns, which poured upon the enemy the most terrible rain of shells ever known on the Italian front, and partly by means of underground passages bored through the solid rock.

The Italian attack began on Aug. 4 in the Monfalcone section, east of Rocca, where powerful enemy works were stormed. The Austrians, however, had left large numbers of gas bombs in the abandoned trenches; these exploded just as the Italians entered the captured lines, and while the soldiers staggered, stupefied by the gas, the enemy launched a strong counterattack which drove the Italians back to their own trenches.

The next day the Italian artillery sounded the whole of the enemy's front, distracting his attention and at the same time getting the ranges accurately. Then on the morning of Aug. 6 the successful offensive began. Under an unclouded Summer sky the titanic orchestra of Italian guns began rending the air with



MAP OF THE ITALIAN FRONTIER, COVERING THE CHIEF POINTS OF IMPORTANCE ON THE WAR FRONTS

a terrifying chorus all the way from Plava Heights to Monfalcone. The whole region that had been plowed up by big shells since July 14 was again subjected to a ceaseless hail of explosives for nine hours. No such awe-inspiring cascade of fire ever before had been witnessed on the Italian front. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the infantry leaped from their trenches and dashed over the shattered earth to complete the work with bullet and bayonet.

As Monte Sabotino had proved practically impregnable, plans had been laid to take it by surprise. For months the Italian sappers had been secretly at work excavating wide passageways through the solid rock from their own lines to within twenty yards of the Austrian defenses. Three of these tunnels, from 240 to 300 feet long, were ready for use when the artillery preparation began. While the cannon thundered on that Sunday morning of Aug. 6, the Italian infantry poured through these subterranean corridors and suddenly burst out at the further end, throwing themselves upon the astonished Austrians and overcoming them before they could organize an effective resistance. Thus the dreaded

Sabotino Mountain passed into Italian hands.

On the same day the remaining key of Gorizia, Monte San Michele, was captured. San Michele had been taken and lost by the Italians at least twenty-five times, and for seven months they had held half of the summit; but it had always been dominated by the Austrian fire from the still higher summit of Monte Sabotino, and only when this was taken did the Italians gain final possession of San Michele. Their big guns silenced Austrian batteries on both summits with the aid of twenty-four dirigible balloons, each carrying four tons of explosives. By day and night these balloons were operated in the most daring manner. They were attacked frequently by Austrian aeroplanes, which in turn were driven off by Italian aeroplanes or by guns mounted on the dirigibles.

As soon as the Italians held the dominating heights their big guns turned their attention to shelling the Austrians out of the City of Gorizia, while the infantry was hurled forward to capture the bridge in open battle.

It remained to take the imposing barrier formed by the heights between

Podgora and Gorizia. Here the Austro-Hungarians had taken refuge in hundreds of caves, some of which had been enlarged into vast subterranean halls that served at once as munition depots and as quarters for thousands of men. From one of these tortuous grottoes 800 Hungarians with hand bombs and machine guns maintained an untiring fight for a whole day and night, and until noon the following day. Even then they resisted passively for several hours before they were reduced to the point of suffocation by straw and petroleum fires lighted at the entrances of the cave. Twenty guns and many tons of ammunition were captured with these stubborn fighters.

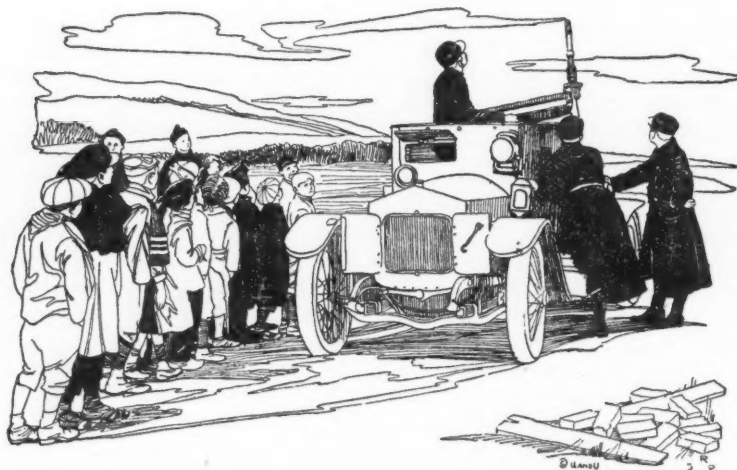
The battle ebbed and flowed incessantly for three days. The ground was well fortified, and the Austrians fought bitterly for every foot of the remaining ground. Inch by inch, with heavy losses, the Italians conquered first the crest and then the southeastern slopes leading down to the river, storming trench after trench, and driving the enemy back over the bridge that had been battled for so many months. The Austrians blew it up in their retreat. With water up to their necks, carrying rifles above their heads and shouting patriotic songs, the Italians forded the broad stream and carried the eastern bank. Enemy shrapnel, which

churned the water into foam, failed to check their progress. Men wounded in the water insisted on being helped to gain the eastern bank. "Then they'll not send us back."

On the morning of Aug. 9 the Duke of Aosta, accompanied by the King, rode at the head of his army into the conquered city. The Austrians, commanded by General Zeidler, had retired eastward through the mountains to Vallone, leaving more than 15,000 prisoners in Italian hands.

The fighting throughout these three days, especially at the bridge leading from Podgora to Gorizia, ranks with the most sanguinary of the war. The Austrians fought desperately, compelling the victors to pay for every gain, so that the casualties on both sides were large. Neither side has reported the figures thus far, but the total for both together is estimated at 30,000.

The victory at Gorizia has been followed up vigorously by General Cadorna's forces, both at that point and elsewhere on the Isonzo front. The Austrians have been driven beyond Vallone and are under heavy pressure all along the edge of the Carso southward. At this writing (Aug. 21) the Italian guns dominate Tolmino in the upper Isonzo Valley and are within a dozen miles of Trieste in the south.



# The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

*Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro*

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

## THE BATTLEFIELD

**T**HE field on which the battle has begun includes two regions of strongly contrasted character.

One, in which the British Army is operating, might go under the name of Bapaume, the most considerable place in the direction contemplated by our allies; the other, to the south, might be called the Péronne region, from the apparent objective of the French forces.

The English front, which is the longer—11 miles in the direct line from Gommécourt to Montauban, 15½ miles if we count the curves—is divided by the course of the little River Ancre, an affluent of the Somme, which it enters near Corbie. Save for this deep furrow, enlivened by abundant water, the whole region is a succession of ample undulations between dry ravines. The heights regular little plateaus each with its very extensive village set in orchards or amid large trees, contrasting with the bareness of the slopes, which were formerly covered with rich fields of wheat, of field poppies, or of beet-roots. A few plantations of trees, far apart, are the witnesses to the former sylvan character of the country. The region is remarkably uniform in height; from 400 feet near the Ancre, the slopes rise, 6 miles to the west, to 570 feet at the highest point, that is to say, an imperceptible slope. One of the highest ridges, 538 feet, is near Gommécourt, where the battlefield begins, and is in the neighborhood of Hébuterne. The narrow plateaus, raised on gentle slopes, like long glacis, are, with their villages organized for defense, very strong positions, which can only be mastered by a prolonged bombardment. Therefore at this point the struggle has its alternations of advance and withdrawal; the

towns mentioned above, as well as the hamlets of Serre and Beaumont-Hamel, are furiously fought for. On the opposite bank of the Ancre there is a fierce contest about Thiepval, in another region of ridges separated by deeper and more numerous valleys.

The road from Albert to Valenciennes through Bapaume traverses this sector in a perfectly straight line for 10½ miles. This wide, stately-looking causeway was barred by the Germans, to the south of Thiepval, at the hamlet of Boisselle, less than 2 miles from the unfortunate City of Albert, ruined by the enemy. Since 1914, La Boisselle and its neighbor Ovil-lers, the chief town of the commune, have been the scene of extremely violent combats. The enemy has built very strong defenses at this point; against them, since the battle began, the English have been hammering.

To the south, the battlefield is marked by sharp folds, with dry ravines, on whose flanks the chalk crops out, entering a long, unwatered valley which the narrow-gauge railroad from Albert to Péronne follows as far as Montauban, and which the State road makes use of for a while. The enemy is firmly planted in the villages of this valley: Fricourt, Mametz, and Montauban, a town perched on the slope of a ridge whose highest point, 518 feet, is the highest in the whole region between Albert and Péronne.

The English lines a short time ago extended as far as the Somme, covered the white cliff of the village of Vaux and finished at the brook up-stream from Suzanne. Opposite, on the left (south) bank of the Somme, the French lines began. In view of the coming offensive, a part of our (French) troops were brought back to the right bank, between Bray-on-Somme and the valley of Fricourt, toward

Carnoy. From this point we started for the contest which was to carry us to Hardecourt-in-the-Woods.

The narrow-gauge railroad follows an odd line, to reach Combles. Departing from its easterly course, at a point 3 miles from Curlu, it goes north, curves past Montauban, turns to the east, goes south toward Combles, and reaches Curlu after a loop of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles. In the midst of the loop is hidden in a fold Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, separated from the Somme by 2 miles of hilly ground. On the bank of the river, stretched out beneath high walls of chalk, is the Village of Curlu, before which the Somme describes one of its oddest meanderings, surrounding an oval plain in great part fringed with peat-mosses. The chord of this loop of the river is cut by the Somme Canal, which is bordered by the long but narrow village of Frise, which the Germans took from us some months ago. To the east of Curlu, between the villages of Hem and Feuillères, a causeway crosses the Somme and the canal and climbs up the slopes of the left (south) bank, skirting at a height of 346 feet, 180 feet above the Somme, the little wood of Mereaucourt.

At this point begins the plateau of Santerre, which extends past Chaulnes and Roye as far as the hills of Lassigny. At first, much broken up, it becomes a level plain from the point where it leaves the road from Péronne to Amiens. In the region near the river, the country is like that on the right (north) bank, ridges and swellings bearing small plateaus which have a village in the centre or at the side: Dompierre, Becquincourt, and Bussus, which form a single group, Herbécourt, Assevillers, Estrées, where begins a dry valley which comes out on the Somme at Bray. In this valley lies a series of villages, the first of which is Fay. Further on, to the south, extends the plain dotted with many villages.

To the east, the plateau, still a succession of ridges, is surrounded on three sides by the Somme, which, beginning with Voyennes—between Nesle and Hem—describes a great loop of which Assevillers, Flaucourt, and Barleux, at cross-roads, occupy the centre. The last vil-

lage, Biaches, lies opposite Péronne. Between Flaucourt and that town there is a distance of only 3 miles. A plateau raised on pretty steep slopes, at a height of 321 feet, or 164 feet above the Somme, separates Flaucourt from Péronne.

Of the two divisions of the battlefield, that of the right bank of the Ancre is less broken up; further on, as far as the Somme, then as far as the Amiens road, the succession of ridges surrounded by ravines and topped by villages, is the strongest part of the region in which the struggle has begun; in that region, however, the successes were most rapid.

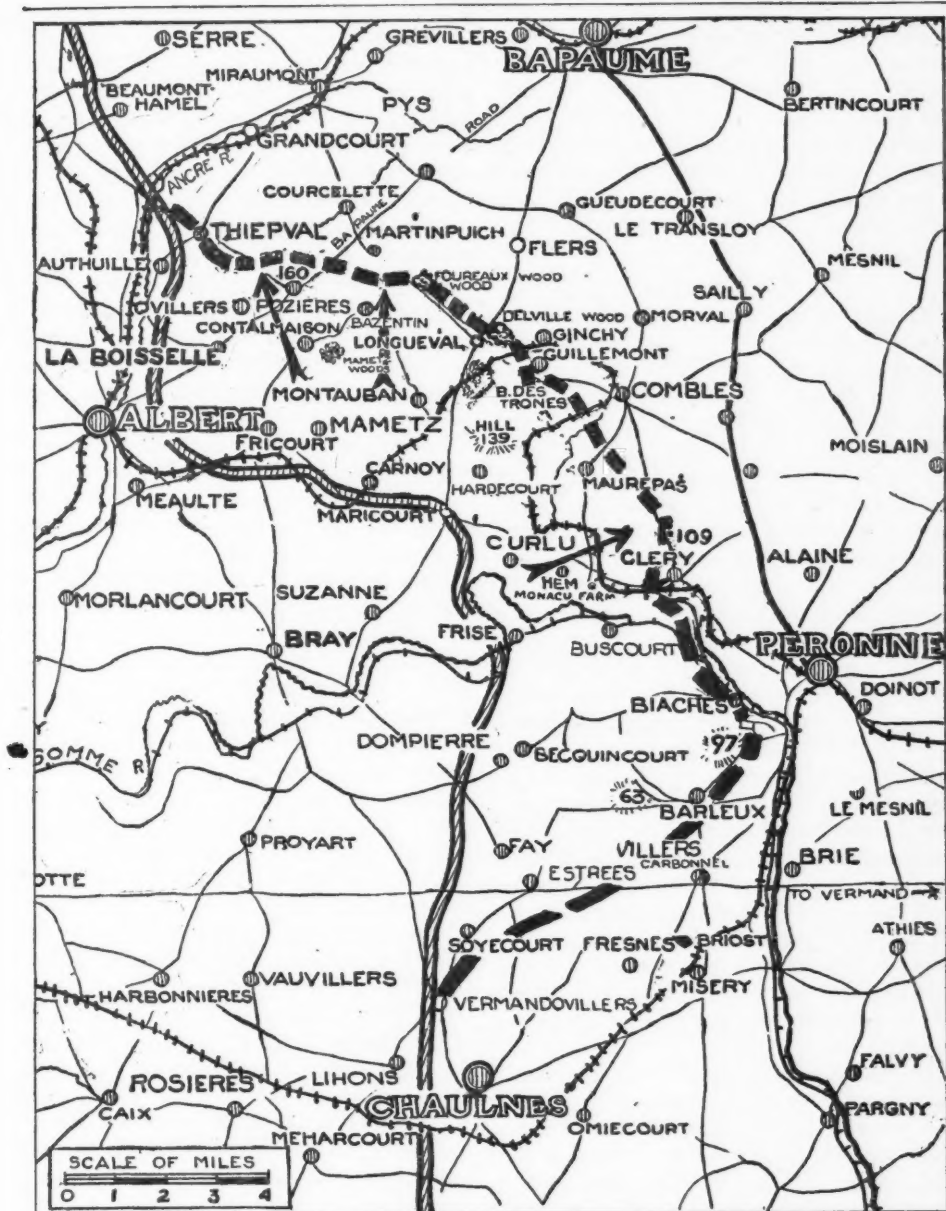
We are now acquainted with the region in which, beginning with July 1, has been fought one of the bloodiest battles of the great drama. We shall follow its different developments.

#### THE PREPARATION

The bulletins of the preceding week, which made it apparent that the bombardment preluding a great offensive had begun on the English front, were silent as to the participation of the French in this hurricane of fire. Yet our artillery was playing its part, on a front rather restricted in comparison with the English lines, but of a high strategic value. We were fighting on both banks of the Somme, one part of our forces having, as we indicated higher up, crossed the river to take the place of English forces between the river and the road from Albert to Péronne.

The action of our powerful batteries and of the sixteen-inch mortars was preparing an attack of extreme intensity. It was launched on the morning of July 1, (Saturday,) in co-operation with a movement of the British Army, which was active only on a narrow part of its front, and not in the regions of Flanders and Artois, where the bulletins had insistently mentioned cannonades and mine explosions. The British action took place on the confines of Artois and Picardy, principally on the territory of the latter province. The news of the movement arrived with the announcement of the first and important successes. Verdun sank a little into the background.

Until Sunday, July 2, then, the French bulletins had said nothing of the prepar-



PROGRESS MADE BY ANGLO-FRENCH FORCES IN THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME  
AFTER SIX WEEKS' FIGHTING, SHOWN BY BROKEN LINE

ations; those of the English stated that during the bombardment numerous raids had been pushed forward to the lines of the enemy, whose trenches, leveled by shells, contained few besides dead and wounded; our allies had advanced, at certain points, using gas, as a reply to the cruel methods of war of the enemy.

At the same time aviation played a very extensive rôle; all the captive balloons (drachen) of the Germans were attacked and destroyed; their airmen were pursued unceasingly. Before the battle, the German Army had lost its means of observation. Other machines poured bombs on the railroad stations, the storehouses,

the munition depots and machines of the enemy, and on trains in motion. At the moment when the struggle was begun, the general quarters of the enemy were attacked with bombs dropped from the clouds. The French airmen were not less busy; they destroyed all the drachen and prevented the German aeroplanes from approaching our lines.

#### THE ATTACK

Thus the attack began when the enemy was deprived of his means of aerial scouting. In both the English region and our own, it was superb in its vigor. Our allies joined battle from Gommécourt to Fricourt, only 2 miles from Albert, their line of attack crossing the Ancre between Beaumont-Hamel and Thiepval. At the point of contact with our troops, they took Mametz and Montauban, thus getting a footing on the highest point, whence radiates, toward the Somme and the upper course of the Ancre, a network of ravines which appears inextricable. Mametz and Montauban had been furiously defended; fierce counterattacks delayed their fall until the evening. Another village, Fricourt, resisted. During this time, an even more violent action was being fought on the road from Bapaume to La Boisselle, where the enemy seems to have collected the most formidable means of defense; the fight extended on the east to Contalmaison, on the north toward Ovillers and Thiepval; the English registered some progress, but without succeeding in forcing the intrenchments.

On the Somme the French obtained successes comparable to those of the English toward Montauban. They attacked on both sides of the valley. Starting on the north, that is, on the right bank, from the neighborhood of Carnoy and Maricourt, they drove the enemy from his trenches and pressed him back on Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, in the great curve marked by the Albert-Péronne Railroad. On the river itself, they captured Curlu, after a fierce struggle.

The success was not less on the left (south) bank, in the loop of the Somme. Dompierre and Becquincourt, which make, as we have seen, a single group with the hamlet of Bussus, were carried

by admirably led assaults; to the south, near the road to Amiens and the village of Estrées, Fay, so often fought over through nearly two years, was taken in its turn. We were masters of a front extending from the approaches of Frise, on the Somme, as far as Estrées. On the opposite bank, we held the approaches of Curlu. More than 5,000 prisoners were brought back; guns, machine guns, diverse engines, a mass of material had fallen into our hands. And our losses, thanks to the artillery preparation and the marvelous dash of our soldiers, had been very small.

As always, the enemy tried to counter-attack under cover of the night, striking fiercely, especially to the north of Hardecourt, but all his assaults were broken by our barrier-fire; he finally withdrew in disorder, abandoning 200 more prisoners, six of whom were officers. During this time, on the right bank, ourselves taking advantage of the darkness to advance, we approached Herbécourt and Assevillers. The Germans had hastily called up reserves and strengthened their occupation of Frise, a village the loss of which some months earlier we had left severely. But Frise, violently bombarded, was approached by our soldiers, at 2 in the morning, in spite of the obstacles accumulated before it. The enemy was pushed out so rapidly that he had not the time to offer a serious resistance. Frise occupied, as well as Curlu on the other bank, we were masters of the great loop of the Somme. The victors, following up their advantage, mounted the Herbécourt ridge, carried, at its end above the Somme, the wood of Mereaucourt, from which they dominated the bridgehead of Feuillères and Hem. The wood had been covered with trenches; it concealed veritable caverns, whose occupants thought themselves safe from any attack.

On the other bank of the Somme, once Curlu had been taken, our troops, advancing along the river, dislodged the enemy from the deep quarries dug in the chalk and transformed into fortresses. More to the north, our progress was strengthened toward Hardecourt, which was powerfully intrenched, and rising in an amphitheatre in the hollow of a valley as

far as the edge of the plateau surrounded by ravines.

On the same day, that is, Sunday, the English who, during the night, had repelled a formidable counterattack, led by four columns, continued to attack La Boisselle with success; in the evening they took a part of the village. More to the north, they were compelled at certain points to abandon a part of their gains; to the south they carried Fricourt in the afternoon. The whole valley followed as far as Montauban by the narrow-gauge railroad was from that time in the hands of the Allies. A German battalion sent on the following day to Fricourt, finding itself surrounded, surrendered without a fight.

The British troops met with a resistance which increased in fierceness; however, on Monday, July 3, La Boisselle was taken; the German troops capitulated while the neighboring village, Ovillers, saw the struggle resumed with increased bitterness. In the morning our allies occupied a part of the enemy trenches. The contests on the Ancre were not less violent, especially to the south of Thiepval; yet the English made headway; they had taken up to this point 4,300 prisoners. From that time the conflict was carried on with growing fury, but all the German attacks against La Boisselle were broken against English tenacity.

#### FRENCH PROGRESS

While the English were fighting, to the south of Arras, as far as the Ancre, other battles of which no account has been given, and while, before Albert, this fierce struggle had been going on, the French continued to progress in the loop of the Somme. Starting from the Mereaucourt Wood, French battalions advanced toward Assevillers, carried Herbécourt, whose defensive organization seemed to defy all assaults, and attacked Assevillers, still more formidably guarded. Joined by other elements coming through Dompierre and Becquincourt, they occupied the outskirts of the village, and, after a new artillery preparation, rushed forward with magnificent vigor against the strongly defended ruins. Assevillers was in our hands.

To the south, Estrées was approached. The enemy had strongly covered this village, because of its situation on the high road from Amiens to Péronne; he held his ground there on the evening of Monday, July 3. In the remainder of the loop, our progress was considerable: Flaucourt, only 3 miles from Péronne, was taken; further north, passing the Mereaucourt Wood, we captured Feuillères, important because of the bridges over the canal and the Somme, and the causeway across the marshes. From Feuillères, ascending the left bank, our soldiers reached the fortified Chapitre Wood, took it by assault, and reached the hamlet of Buscourt. On Monday evening, the enemy held in the loop of the Somme, only Belloy-en-Santerre, where reinforcements that had been dispatched to him were dispersed by our guns; Barleux, Biache, at the gates of Péronne, and Villers-Carbonnel, very important because at the crossroads of Roye and Amiens, and the point of passage, through Pontles-Brie, of the Somme and the canal. At the close of July 3, we held as trophies ten batteries of artillery, five being of large calibre, many machine-guns, trench guns, without counting guns put out of action by the bombardment, and more than 8,000 prisoners. This figure was raised to 9,500 on the following day, the English on the same day reaching 6,000.

The storms and rainy weather which followed did not stop our progress. On Tuesday, July 4, in spite of continuous torrents, our troops continued their advance in the loop of the Somme. Estrées, entered house by house, was almost completely conquered; to the east, Belloy-en-Santerre was likewise taken. Between this village, Assevillers, and Barleux, woods, furrowed with trenches, surrounded with a network of barbed wire entanglements, fell to us in their turn. Only 1,100 yards separated us from Barleux, the last village which remained to the Germans in the loop of the Somme.

The Germans, during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, July 4-5, bombarded and then attacked Belloy; they succeeded in occupying a part of it for a time, on the east, but were driven out by a counterattack. In the morning, they still held

the east of Estrées, in assaulting which they had spent their forces. During this time, we made headway along the banks of the Somme, from Feuillères as far as the Sormont Farm, which is only 2½ miles from Péronne.

To the north of the Somme, we took Hem on July 5, after a sharp contest.

All these events were developed before Péronne, whose railway station, on the main line from Paris to Cambrai, is the centre of supplies for the whole of this part of Picardy, of the Vermandois and Santerre.

Three days after the taking of Hem, we carried Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, at the point of contact of our left wing with the right wing of the English.

But our principal action had as its stage the loop of the Somme, where we little by little pushed the Germans back to the river, upstream from Péronne, while, downstream from the town, all the left (south) bank came into our possession.

On Friday, July 7, going forward from Belloy and Estrées, we drove the enemy out of his trenches and brought back 400 prisoners.

On Sunday, July 9, our troops undertook a new advance toward the east, along the whole front, from the river near the Sormont farm to Belloy-en-Santerre, Flaucourt being at the centre of the line. This attack, prepared by our artillery, conducted with vigor and a remarkable cohesion of its different elements, secured for us a gain of one and one-quarter miles of ground along this whole front. Biaches, only 1,100 yards from the southern fortifications of Péronne, and separated from it by the Somme and its marshes, was captured; toward the south we got close to Barleux and occupied the approaches to this village, the last held by the Germans in the loop. The battle was continued throughout the night, and, in the morning, secured for us the complete occupation of the ridge which dominates Biaches, and whose summit, covered by the Maissonette estate, is at an elevation of 318 feet, exactly 164 feet above the water level of the Somme, (which, at Péronne, is 154 feet above sea level.)

This point completely commands the town of Péronne, its railroad stations, and all the roads which radiate from the capital of the old Vermandois district.

On the English front our allies met with fierce resistance, which was concentrated from the banks of the Ancre toward Thiepval, to the point of contact with our left wing near Montauban. To the south of Thiepval the Germans had fortified a part of the ground by the creation of a powerful redoubt, called the Leipzig redoubt, at which they had been working ceaselessly for twenty months. In the afternoon of Friday, July 7, this work, after a smashing bombardment by British cannon, was the prize of a superb assault. In other combats carried on to the south, at La Boisselle, that is, on the road to Bapaume, gained for our allies a whole network of trenches on a front of 2,000 yards, and to a depth of 600 yards. Between La Boisselle and Fricourt two small woods were captured.

On the same day, July 7, there were furious battles at Contalmaison, between La Boisselle and Bazentin-the-less. The Germans sent the Prussian Guard forward at 7 o'clock in the morning. It was repulsed and forced to retire to the north, leaving the ground covered with dead and abandoning 700 prisoners in the hands of the English. The English, following up this success, made a superb assault on Contalmaison, which, at noon, gave them the village; but a counterattack retook it. However, they remained on its outskirts.

The following days were not less stirring. On Saturday, July 8, the British troops started from Montauban and the wood of Bernafay toward the Trônes Wood to co-operate with our attack on Hardecourt. While we were taking this village they approached the wood, supported by the French infantry, and took it. The enemy, coming back in dense masses, was thrown back again.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, July 9, 10, and 11, the struggle was continued in the Trônes Wood and on its outskirts. On the morning of July 11 it was almost in the hands of our allies. A night assault, preceded by a violent bombardment, at the same time regained Contal-

maison for them, and they strongly consolidated their position in the village. This success was completed by the capture of the Mametz Wood.

The total of prisoners captured by the English was 7,500 men. The battle between the Ancre and the Trônes Wood lasted without interruption for ten days and ten nights; it won for our allies a gain of from one and one-quarter to two and one-half miles in advance of their lines; the territory of five villages was freed from German occupation.

In mid-July the Germans twice attempted to retake from us the approaches to Péronne, taking advantage of the thick mists arising from the marshes and peat mosses of the Somme. Thanks to this veil of fog, on the evening of Saturday, July 15, they made a sortie from Péronne by the "Paris suburb." Creeping along the banks between which sleeps the canalized river, they pressed in our outposts and got as far as the approaches to Biaches. Violent assaults gained this village for them. While this was going on other German troops made their way up the flanks of the Maisonette Hill, driving in our outposts and taking possession of the ridge. But their success was brief. Our reserves retook the position. Another counterattack recovered Biaches for us. Some enemy groups were able to maintain themselves for a short time in a little wood between the two positions.

The second attempt took place on Monday evening, July 17, during torrential rain, and was kept up during the night. Repulsed in six assaults against the Maisonette Ridge, the Germans, supported by batteries installed on Mont Saint-Quentin, above Péronne, succeeded in reaching the heart of Biaches, thanks to the dead weight of the successive masses of troops launched in that direction. All day the struggle went on in the ruins of the village; our soldiers retook most of the houses, the enemy holding his ground only in the eastern part. During the forenoon of Tuesday, July 18, he was driven from the foothold to which he had been clinging.

In the heart of the Santerre Plateau, near Chilly, a village close to the important railway station of Chaulnes, the Ger-

mans sketched a diversion by hurling themselves brusquely against our trenches.

During the same period, on the British front the fighting went on incessantly without an instant's respite from Ovillers—that is, from the approaches to the Valley of the Ancre—as far as the narrow-gauge railway from Albert to Péronne, on the level of Guillemont. The British artillery covered the German positions with its fire, big mortars severely hammering it; infantry attacks were sent forward at several points on Thursday, July 13.

This bombardment of extreme violence continued during the night of Thursday-Friday, July 13-14. Before dawn, on the day of our national festival, July 14, our allies launched, on a front of four and one-half miles, a powerful attack, carried out with so much ardor that the first lines immediately fell into their hands. The enemy had intrenched in the hamlets and woods, and it required terrific assaults to dislodge him. In the afternoon, Bazentin-le-Petit, Bazentin-le-Grand, Longueval, and the Trônes Wood were taken and occupied. Of these different positions the most important to the enemy was Bazentin-le-Petit. Three times the Germans directed counterattacks against this village in the hope of retaking it; the last attack, carried out with considerable forces, permitted them to dislodge the English. But the English returned to the charge and once more took possession of Bazentin-le-Petit. On this side the enemy only retained a foothold in the southwestern part of the Wood of Preuze, which separates Bazentin-le-Petit from the district of Contalmaison; he was driven out in the forenoon of July 17. During these combats more than 2,000 Germans surrendered.

The fighting continued with the same violence during the whole of Saturday, July 15, and was equally favorable for the English, whose front was extended both east and west. The Delville Wood, which spreads like a fan between the road from Longueval to Flers and Longueval to Ginchy, was completely taken; and German counterattacks had no result beyond causing heavy losses to

the assailants. To the north, and at 1,300 yards from Bazentin-le-Grand, the Wood of Foureaux, which occupies the culminating point of the Artois Ridge, was approached. During the battle a squadron of English horse charged the enemy—the first intervention of British cavalry since the battle of the Marne. The Wood of Foureaux was not taken, but our allies were able to organize its outskirts.

Sunday, July 16, was consecrated to the consolidation of the ground gained. On Monday, July 17, the British troops resumed the fight. Near the Bapaume road they attacked the village of Ovillers, defended by a battalion of the Prussian Guard, whose resistance was superb, but the debris of that heroic troop, 124 men and officers, were compelled to surrender. For twenty months this village had withstood all the efforts of the Allies to take it.

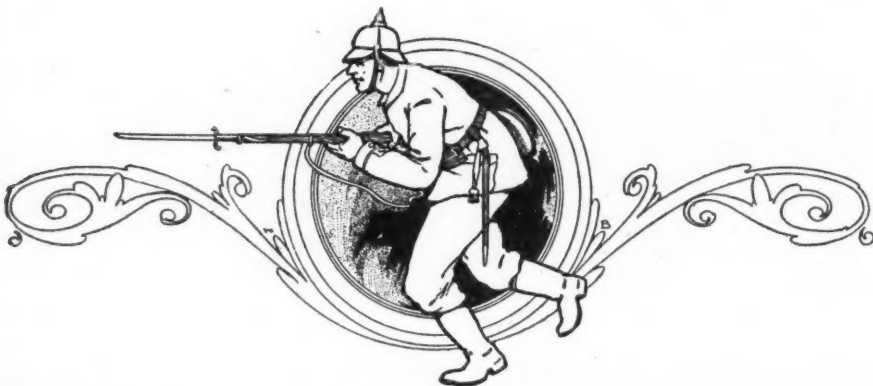
On their right wing the English gained a not less important success in capturing the Waterlot Farm, whose large buildings had been organized as a fortress. This property is half way to Guillemont, a village whose southern outlet is covered by the French troops at Hardecourt. From each of the three points, the Waterlot Farm, the Wood of Trônes, and Hardecourt, the distance to Combles is just over two miles, and Combles is the principal place between Albert and Péronne.

This English position, extending from Longueval through the Delville Wood to the Waterlot Farm, was the object on Tuesday, July 18, of a violent counterattack by the Germans. After having covered the wood with tear-producing and asphyxiating shells, they rushed to the assault, and a very fierce struggle took place.

During the first seventeen days of the battle of the Somme the British forces captured 10,779 men and 189 officers. They also brought in 8 large mortars, 9 heavy cannon, 37 field guns, and 66 machine guns.

A part of this struggle took place under the eyes of Kaiser Wilhelm, who came to bring encouragement to his troops and to study the situation with his own eyes.

[Between July 20 and July 30 a sanguinary battle was fought over the possession of Delville Wood, which was finally retaken by the British. Meanwhile the French advanced over a front of several miles, and the allied line was straightened out on the higher ground, with steady advances over a front of twenty to thirty miles, driving a wedge into the Germans in the centre of Picardy and imperiling their entire line in that region. The battle is furiously proceeding as this issue goes to press, with the Allies slowly but steadily advancing.]



# With the Germans on the Somme

By Cyril Brown

*The Berlin Staff Correspondent of The New York Times*

*The battle of the Somme, the bloodiest of the war, has been raging now for two months. Upward of 1,500,000 men are locked in a death grapple. The awful music of great artillery continues night and day, and desolation overwhelms village after village in the pathway of the Allies. England and France now have the heaviest guns, the most ammunition, the strongest forces; and they seem also to have gained the upper hand in the fierce aerial fighting that has become a special feature of the battle. Yet the Germans, though dying by thousands, are naturally inflicting still heavier losses upon the attacking forces, and they have given comparatively little ground in the last month. Both sides still claim ultimate victory. In Mr. Brown's article, written about the middle of August, we have a glimpse of the quieter aspects of life behind the German trenches.*

THE battle of the Somme as I have seen it from the German side is replete with impressions of cannonading of incessant violence, cyclones of steel, and sudden squalls of fire that wipe out whole villages in minutes, the hail of a thousand tornadoes criss-crossing the ruined countryside, ammunition that makes the mounds which I had seen at Verdun look like ant hills, mortar batteries as thick as mushrooms, and then the singing, cheering processions of flower-garlanded youngsters and the silent tramp of the rested veterans, and the motor pilgrimage of pain intermingled with strings of ambulances loaded to capacity.

It is just like other battles except that on the Somme you cannot get away from it. It haunts you while you are being kept awake by the French airbombs, follows you into the trench, is with you in the high tree-tops and aeroplanes and other high observation points. Pictorially here is the same old front which has been seen and described to a point of boredom, but with a new sensation—the tingling realization that here on the Somme front the flower of the manhood of three nations is locked in a death grapple, fighting for the decision of the world war, that it counts more men and guns, more shells and dead and mangled to the front foot than any battle in history.

## FRENCH FLIERS AT WORK

War reporting with the Germans is no longer a pleasant pastime, at least not on the Somme. The very first night out, French fliers wrecked my slumber

by liberally dropping bombs on the French town in which I was quartered. The mournful wail of a German military siren heralded their approach. As the booming German anti-aircraft guns went into action one had the novel sensation of lying abed and through a window seeing the fire points of German shrapnel bursting about the flash of the French aircraft, momentarily caught by the German searchlights, but feeling reasonably safe, as the French night-moths generally attack railway stations. Next morning, motoring out of the town, it was interesting to note that for the benefit of the German soldiery practically every street bore affixed to a house a red sign reading, "Protection from fliers," and pointing out the quickest way into bombproof sub-cellars of the furthest front.

I dropped in at a hospital filled exclusively with allied wounded, the local Palais de Danse, whose mirrored walls multiplied the misery ad infinitum. \* \* \* Across the street, at the hospital for Germans, motor ambulances arrived in a steady procession. The wounded were carried in at one door and the dead out another while the French townspeople looked on with ill-concealed hatred. The German losses, I am told, are believed to average only one-third of the Allies' losses, as near as can be estimated.

## RAISING OATS UNDER FIRE

It is worthy of notice that Germany's defensive fight against England, the "hunger war," is being carried right up to the trenches. Every arable square

inch in this part of France in German hands which I have seen is under cultivation, and promises a bumper crop of rye, oats, wheat, and barley, little damaged by the battle of the Somme except immediately back of the trenches and about the villages which are under heavy fire. French civilians were already busy getting in the harvest, ably assisted by the German reserves, and it was a paradoxical sight to pass for miles American harvesters, reapers, and binders and motor threshing machines, working peacefully within the roar and range of the guns.

Motor anti-aircraft guns were almost as thick in the fields as the American harvesters, indicating the heightened French aerial activity on the Somme, where the French and English flying corps appear to be at the very top of their form.

The German fliers are forced as never before to extend themselves barely to hold their own and to keep the score a few points ahead of the allied fliers, who appear to have greatly outnumbered them at the beginning of the offensive. The Fokker fighters have evened up the numerical handicap by greater individual brilliancy.

Still another phase of the food war is to be seen here at the front. The aristocratic old Colonel showed me part of his regimental piggeries, ten very fat, grunting hogs, so busy eating that they paid no attention to the correspondents or the French shells howling overhead. The titled swineherd told me that each German company at the front now has a troop of ten hogs to eat up its food scraps. Efficiency could go no further.

#### CARRIER PIGEONS IN USE

An apparently deserted moving van, stranded in a field, aroused curiosity to the stopping point. It proved to be a carrier pigeon camp. Owing to the damp, unfavorable flying weather the little feathered dispatch carriers, each with a metal number fastened about its neck, were resting inside the van in numbered crates. Absolute military order and discipline prevailed in the carrier pigeon camp.

These unneutral birds are carried in

crates into the front trenches at night and principally used when the drum-fire has destroyed the telephone wires, thus making impossible all other means of getting messages back to the division headquarters. It is in these times that the carrier pigeons prove of the highest military value, winging their way swiftly and surely through the shellfire. And though the casualties are heavy in the pigeon corps Germany's pigeon reserves are said to be inexhaustible.

The carrier pigeons are also used for transmitting dispatches and particularly photographic films from aeroplanes operating over the allied lines. For the latter purpose a neat little leather harness, with a long, slender tube is attached to a band under the pigeon's body.

The penultimate front and its immediate rear are in general more important than the first-line trenches for sizing up the present condition and the prospects of the modern battle. Here the most significant fact was the right of the "shiller" divisions behind the front—the uniformed laborers engaged in laying line after line of field fortifications, digging and delving as if against time. For the Germans, while not admitting the necessity, are, nevertheless, preparing to defend every foot of French soil by a stand every few hundred yards or so.

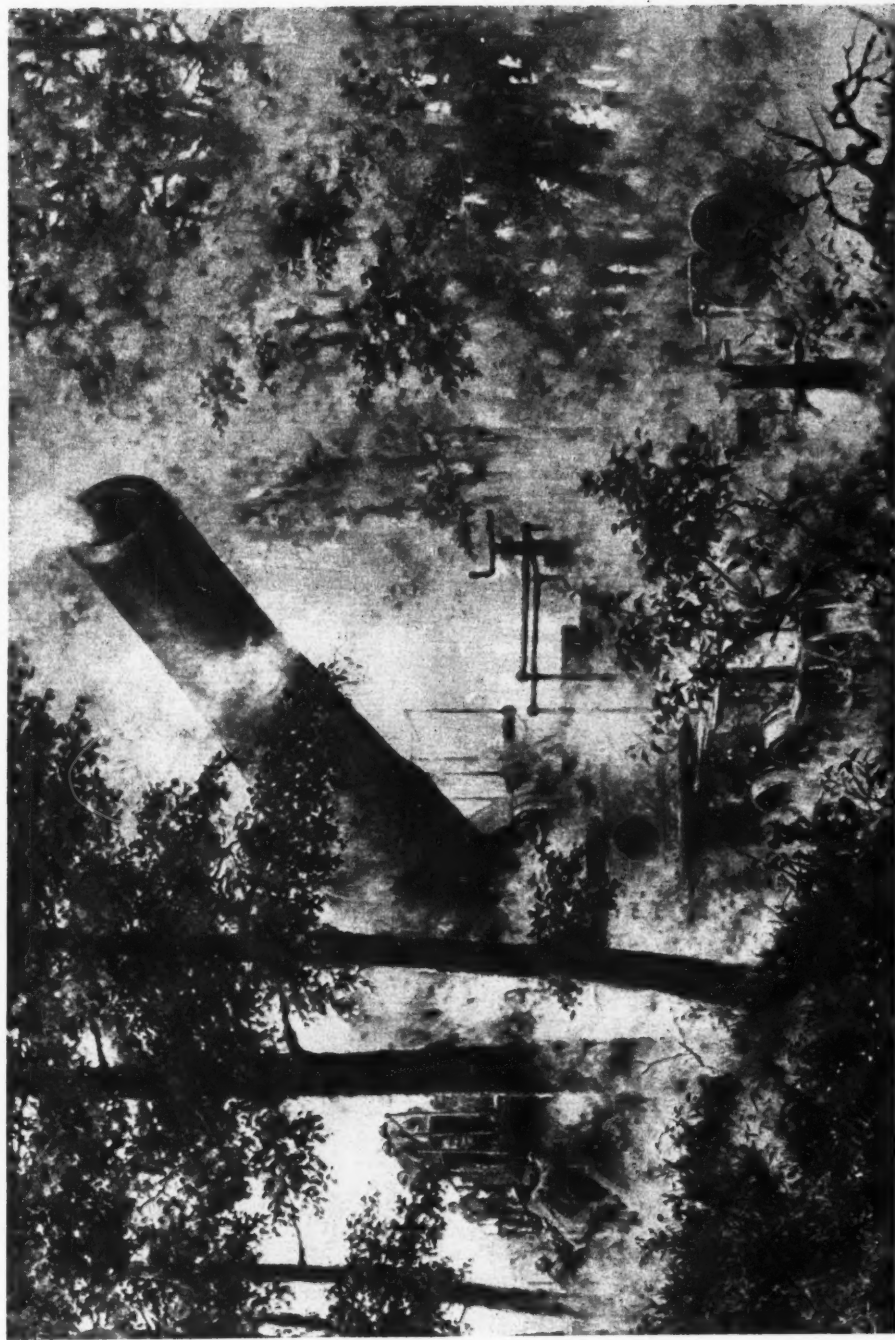
#### HEAVY MORTARS IN ACTION

I joined the gunners at a kicking and snorting mortar battery, consisting of four giant bucking broncos of steel, which threw up their tails viciously at every shot and pawed the runway with their caterpillar feet. Salvos were being fired on schedule time, one salvo a minute.

Standing directly behind the first mortar and looking about 200 yards up into the air, I saw the heavy projectile in flight at the start of its journey, visible for just a few seconds. Timing the projectile, I found it was fifty-nine seconds before it was heard to burst at its destination. \* \* \*

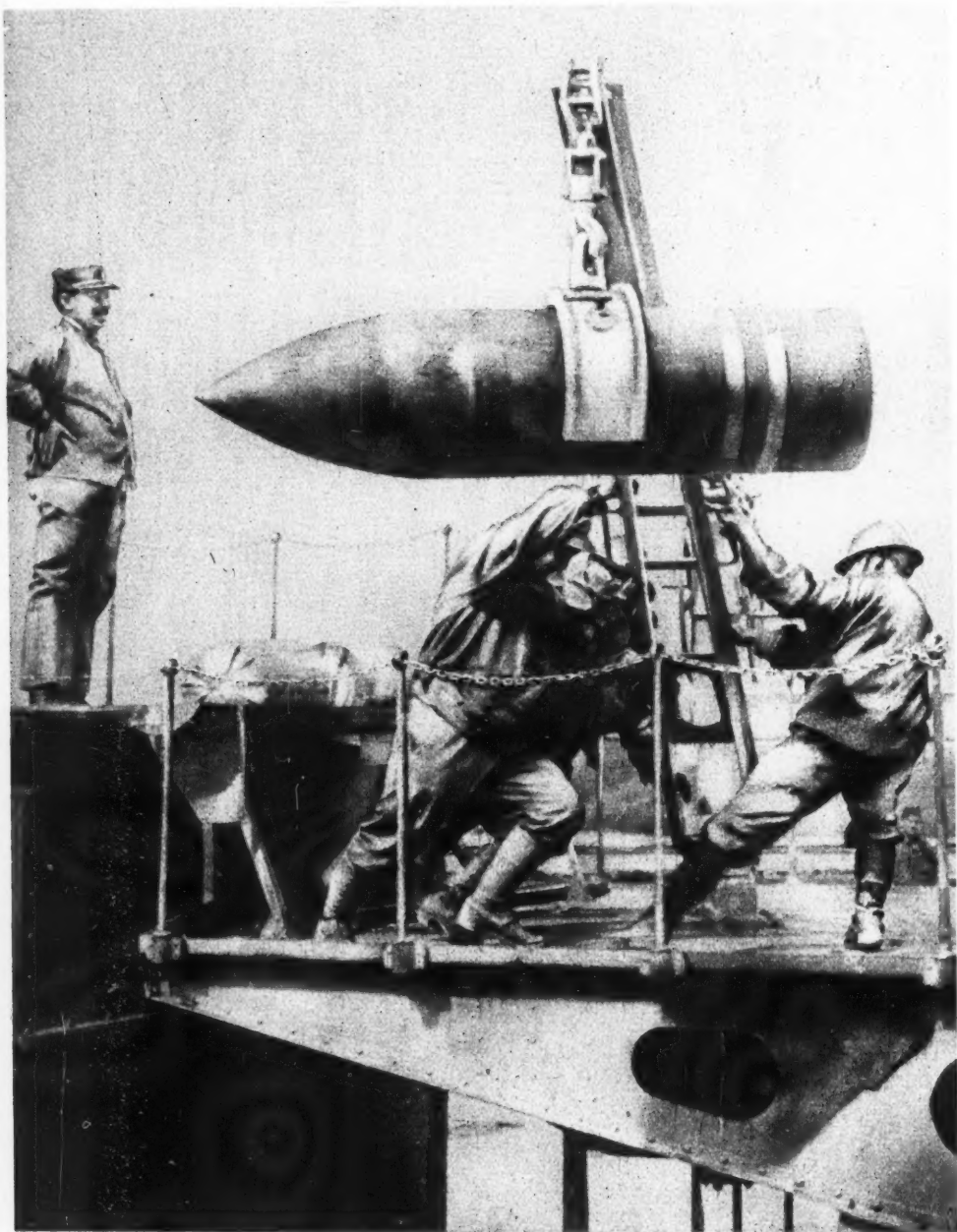
The faces of the German gunners told their own story. The good nature of these skilled Teuton mechanics had given place to a grim set expression as if biting their jaws together and nerving them-

## ENORMOUS NEW FRENCH GUN USED IN BATTLE OF THE SOMME



This 400 Millimeter or Sixteen-Inch Monster Is One of the Many Upon Which the French Munitions Workers Have Been Toiling for Months. These Are the Guns Which Are Doing Such Terrible Execution Against the Fortified German Trenches.  
(Photo © Illustrated London News.)

## A SIXTEEN-INCH SHELL



Hoisting a Monster Shell to Feed the Lord of Battle Shown on the  
Reverse of This Page.  
(Official Photograph.)

selves to fight off the physical fatigue of long weeks of continued cannonading. In their shirtsleeves and perspiring, with facial muscles drawn and strained, they reminded me of overtrained athletes toward the end of a hard-fought long-distance race who realized that they must not "crack" before breasting the tape. They continued working their battery automatically, with the disciplined perfection and finished form of veterans.

I walked down a narrow, winding pathway through a jungle of underbrush full of infantry reserves. It was the strangest gypsy colony I had seen on any front. The men were living in galvanized zinc sheds, semi-cylinders about ten feet in diameter, easily transportable, quickly set up, absolutely rainproof, and resembling miniature models of the Zeppelin hangars. Eight men could sleep beneath each zinc dome.

These reserves were enjoying a well-earned rest. After two weeks in the hell of the first trenches under fire, they were in particularly high spirits. Most of them were engaged in beautifying their sylvan quarters, building rustic fences about their zinc huts and ornamenting the pathways with rustic borders.

#### DESTROYING BALLOONS

On the way to the trenches I stopped to see a captive balloon company. Forty men were just dragging an inflated yellow bag from its hangar, while the officers tested it thoroughly preparatory to going up.

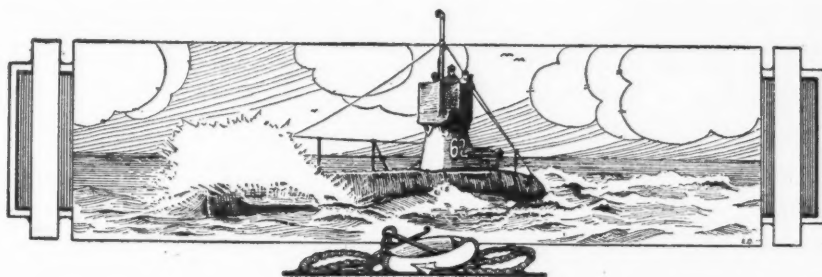
I gathered that captive ballooning on the Somme is more thrillingly dangerous than on any other front. The commander told me how they are constantly pestered by the French fliers, whose latest dodge is to swoop down on the balloons and shoot fire darts into them at close range.

He showed me one that had failed to catch fire, a vicious-looking steel thing a foot and a half long, with a rocketlike head.

I also was introduced to one of his youngsters, who had a very narrow escape from death during an attack by a French aviator on a balloon. This was Lieutenant Ruthenburg, who said:

"I was up 1,800 feet when a French aeroplane approached and shot fire darts at the bag. I did not stop to ascertain the damage, for if you do not leap out of the gondola in the nick of time you run the risk of getting caught under the burning envelope or of the balloon dropping on top of you. I leaped overboard promptly with my parachute. I fell 150 feet before it opened, but landed unscratched, only to find the balloon had not been hit by the French aviator at all."

The intensity of the artillery fire on the Somme makes the utmost demands on the skill and endurance and nerves of the captive ballooners here, who admittedly have their hands full to hold their own, but appear to be doing it. In no fighting arm on the Somme front is the ascendancy so marked as to justify sweeping generalizations, much less prophecy. At first blush there seems to be little to choose between the locked foes. A longer study of the great battle front from all angles tends to correct this impression, and warrants the opinion that the margin of Teuton supremacy on the ground is small, but adequate for all practical purposes, while in the air it is still smaller, but enough to turn the very slow scales of battles. If the Teutons can maintain this margin of safety—and I saw no reason here for believing they could not—they have ultimate victory in the battle of the Somme clinched.



# The Battle of Galicia

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE FROM THE RUSSIAN OF V. PHILATOFF]

**S**CORCHING heat, and clouds of dust over the highways from the constant march of columns of infantry and cavalry. They are manoeuvring in the rear; these manoeuvring groups are not the striking units; they are the destruction-bringing units destined to be wedged into the Austrian lines, whose front has been pierced by the striking units ahead. We see, moving at full speed in clouds of dust, boxes of cartridges and shells; automobiles seemingly carrying very small loads—only a few dozen flat wooden boxes with rope handles; precious loads, to be carried at full speed—boxes of munitions.

They meet the wagons of the sanitary department going in the opposite direction—and the blue-gray columns of prisoners. It is most remarkable that, in both streams, the men are cheerful. Our wounded are quite enthusiastic.

One of these was a non-commissioned officer, about 30, who lay quiet—wounded in the chest and hip. He said:

"I was brought back from their second line. When we seized their first line we found nothing to take; only a few scattered munitions—and their dead. They immediately began a counterattack. We had not even the time to pull up the machine guns when we saw them coming on in massed formation at a run. I could see it was not more than a verst [about 1,200 yards] to their second line. And I said to my boys: 'When they get closer we shall run out to meet them, but in the meantime—shoot!' Then I saw our battalion commander [Major] running toward us, shouting: 'Get ready for an attack!' As soon as they were between 150 and 100 paces from us our boys yelled 'Hurrah!' and rushed at them like one man.

"As I ran I glanced right and left. It was a bit frightful—yelling, firing their rifles, some hatless, some toppling over—all running. As was expected, the Austrians were taken by surprise; some

of them surrendered; others attempted to run back; it was a general stew! Not many of our boys stayed with the prisoners; they all ran after the men who were running away. And all the time their artillery was giving it hot to whoever happened to be there, whether they were our boys or theirs.

"When we were nearly at the trenches we were a good deal fewer; some were killed, some wounded, and some completely out of breath. I got almost to the wires; then I dropped; my heart was squeezed out and my throat was parched. I was not on the ground a moment—there were five others with me—when an Austrian passed me—bzz!—right into the wires! I just raised my rifle and got him in the back.

"When I looked back there were many of our soldiers around; the officer commanding the half company crawled into the ditch and said: 'Boys, come ahead! Forward! We've got them with a single blow!' He crossed himself and sprang to his feet, shouting 'Hurrah!' and we all followed into the passage where my Austrian fell. We only stopped to pull up the posts; but wherever the wires had been broken by our shells we rushed on without stopping; in a minute we had jumped into the trench. There were a good many Austrians there, but it was a bit awkward for them. Five of us, jumping into the trench, fired right and left; but it was impossible for the Austrians to fire; they would have killed too many of their own men. At one go we cleared fifty or sixty yards of the trench. Then some of our boys came up and began firing both ways.

"Well, it was quite impossible for the Austrians to hold on in the trench itself, and those of them who crowded into the side trenches had to surrender without a struggle. They let us take six machine guns in good shape and four bomb-throwers—also more than 400 prisoners—all that was left of a battalion [1,000 men.] We called on our reserve

company for reinforcements. But before we had time to look round and find out where their third line was the shells began to rain on us; what with the dust and smoke it got quite dark.

"I pressed close to the wall of the trench. Then—hu-hu!—something splashed into the trench quite close to me, fire blazed like lightning in my eyes. \* \* \* When I came to I realized that I was seated against the wall of the trench, with two of our boys lying at my feet, and the whole trench was smashed up. I tried to stand up, but there was a pain in my leg, and my whole right side wouldn't work. But I felt I was alive. Some of our boys came up and bandaged me. I lay in the trench until dark; when the sanitary department came to carry me out our battalion commander came to bid me good-bye. We kissed each other, and he promised to mention me for a second degree St. George's Cross!" He already had the fourth and third degrees.

## II.

The nearer we come to the battle front the more crowded becomes the traffic. Our automobile needs careful steering and often has to stop, but we are all in a hurry, and want to go ahead at full speed. In the midst of it all, a misjudged turn—something cracks—we are all pushed to one side; the machine stops. \* \* \* I continue my journey with a doctor in his gig, who is hurrying to the aid of a wounded Captain. We are able soon to distinguish the explosion of the enemy shells from our own guns; the shells cutting their way through the air, whistling and hissing; that terrifying hiss, followed by an explosion, which means the shattering of human bodies, many of them maimed for life.

We follow a deep ravine; about 1,200 yards further lies a thick gray mist, from the midst of which come thunder and lightning. That means a battery of our guns. We leave the horses behind, and walk forward. No one pays the slightest attention to us. They are carrying heavy black shells by hand; the shells weigh ninety pounds each; no wonder the men's muscles are strained to the utmost, as they push them into the guns; the

shining brass case glides lightly forward, the catch snaps, and then the shot roars out, deafening us. People no longer speak; they yell, for every one is deafened by the roar of the guns.

Somewhat to the side, behind an improvised curtain of tarred cloth, lies our Captain, a young man, with a bandaged shoulder, the sleeve of his shirt cut, and his coat thrown over the other shoulder only. But his face is not pale, and he is quite cheerful. \* \* \*

Then the doctor and I walk over to look at the guns. The six-inch howitzers are courtesying (from the recoil) as they send out their shells. In shape and color they remind us of a row of frogs in a marsh.

Toward evening the infantry is going to begin to force its way across the river. I am very anxious to go forward to see, but the commanding officer refuses to allow me until after dark. So I remain, possessing my soul in patience and listening to the music of the artillery.

## III.

The sun was moving toward the Carpathian Mountains, which were not more than seventy miles away. Its rays gilded the quaint Galician landscape. The mountain ridges here rise parallel to each other, like petrified waves, and the deep valleys between them were already darkened by the shadows of evening. But the beauties of the landscape do not compare with the joyful sight which met my eyes—our artillery, hammering away in a businesslike fashion at the Austrians, while they rather feebly replied; our guns sending stroke after stroke, in the spirit of the old Slavonic challenge, "We have set forth!" But in the work of the Austrians one feels a disconcerted spirit.

Our attack is to begin as soon as the sun sets. It will not be easy; the positions are well fortified. And in the last five months the Austrians have not been napping. They have done a good deal of barbed-wire knitting, strengthening their trenches and digging rabbit holes.

As soon as darkness came on, the whole line of artillery fire grew perceptibly calmer. Only rifle fire, with an occa-

sional machine gun, continued to increase.  
\* \* \* A skyrocket flies up into the night; then another and another. The searchlights begin to blaze.

From the observation post we can clearly see the explosions on the other side. They flash like lightning, but in the opposite direction—from earth to heaven. The shrapnels look like falling stars—falling singly and in groups.

More explanations by telephone, and my Lieutenant says: "They are starting!"

Explosions can no longer be seen. Heavy shells are being sent against the Austrian artillery. Of course, fire of this kind, (censor,) but it is very important: First of all, it makes the enemy nervous, so that they cannot attend to their own fire with full concentration; and if we succeed in hitting an Austrian battery a great gain is immediately apparent, for that battery's regular work is instantly upset.

At first the Austrians answered our artillery fire. Then, for two or three minutes, they were silent; longer, perhaps, for in such strenuous surroundings it is almost impossible to judge time accurately. Rifle fire increased steadily, both sides evidently shooting. The machine guns keep up their song; the Austrians are evidently running the cartridge ribbons through them gayly.

All at once the whole line of Austrian guns sent up a single roar, all firing together.

"Now, hold tight!" said an artilleryman, crouching down. The Austrians had been saving their fire, economizing in case of a possible attack. Now they opened with regular hurricane fire.

The Lieutenant remains at the telephone, his superior officer advancing toward the river. I follow him. We go forward, bending close to the ground, for we may fall in with a few stray Austrian bullets here. After going a few paces downward a whole loop of the river comes suddenly into view. A fugitive ray of white light runs tremulously over the grass and shrubs along the shore; when it stops for a few seconds everything looks as if plunged in liquid silver, and each little bush casts a long, black shadow

Over the line of the river bank dozens of shrapnel shells are exploding; at times they break over the water, and then the river seethes, as if boiling, under the lash of hundreds of bullets.

"They are exhausting their force in an effort to take the river!" said the Captain.

"Is that what you call a curtain of fire?"

"Yes, and a pretty solid one, too!"

I have served throughout the campaign. Until Verdun the curtain of fire had only reached an elementary stage. Generally, in repelling an attack, the practice had been to fire at the attacking party, at the "living target," as we used to say. The only instance I had seen of firing, not at the attacking party, but in front of them, was at the end of May, 1915, in General Brusiloff's army. The Teutons had broken through our front at Moszieska, (south of the Lemberg-Przemysl railway,) and their offensive was stopped by our barrier fire.

But now the curtain of fire is growing to be a normal phenomenon, in meeting every important attack. It is founded chiefly on the psychological effect. The picture now before my eyes gave me a clearer idea of what a curtain of fire is. Our men had to advance to the river \* \* \* and to cross it. So the Austrians aimed, not at the trenches, nor in front of them, but at the river bank close to the water, where there were no attacking columns yet, but where they must go in order to cross the river, bringing with them boats or rafts, and building bridges.

When the fire is aimed directly at the attacking party the only possible way of escape lies in advancing, because the shrapnel bullets and broken pieces of the shells (which burst in the air) fly past their target. If the attacking party stops, they will be wiped out by steel and fire. Therefore, it is more profitable for them to press ahead. The enemy's fire then advances with them, and so practically drives them forward to the attack.

The curtain of fire, on the contrary, is well in front of you and you must consciously push your head into this guillotine. It is as if, in a thunderstorm, you

were running from door to door; as you advance, the drops of steel become fewer, but heavier.

The Captain, as an experienced artilleryman, had defined the situation accurately at the start; and our attacking parties were drawn back, without entering the zone of the fire screen.

The Austrians continued their fire for thirty or forty minutes. Then realizing that the danger was over, they carried their fire further on, aiming at our trenches, our artillery, and, in general, the rear of our positions. A few shrapnel shells burst over the slope on which we were lying, so we decided to move back to the cover of the observation post. It (censor) but it would shelter us from the shrapnel.

Taking a couple of hours to rest, we organized the attack once more, with everything afire and aflame. Then, somewhere far ahead, we hear our men shouting "Hurrah!" This means that, at some point, they have got across the river and are charging with the bayonet.

Dawn is near. Our faces drawn and blanched with fatigue, we drink some tea in the sod hut of the observation post. Then we go over to the staff post of the —th Infantry Regiment.

#### IV.

Immediately after this I went south to the point where the River Stripa had already been crossed.

Crossing the Stripa!—Perfectly ridiculous! A little stream, not more than thirty-five paces wide, and quite shallow. The one difficulty is, that it flows through a marsh, in some places three-quarters of a mile wide. Needless to say, when Autumn comes, it will be greatly dried up, but just at present it is a serious material obstacle.

And how the Austrians have fortified it! They have dug many trenches, protecting them with barbed wire entanglements, charged with strong currents of electricity. And all this has been smashed and destroyed, because they were not strong enough to defend it.

It is beyond question that the Austrians placed their reliance on the Stripa, keeping their main forces further north, on the line between Lemberg and Tarnopol. But their line was broken through, to the south, close to the mouth of the Stripa. The fighting is on the further (west) bank there now, while only a short time ago both banks were in the hands of the Austrians. On this (east) side the trenches have been hammered to pieces, for we struck at them first, and with great care. In themselves the trenches are not particularly strong; they are pretty deep, with numbers and with loopholes for rifle fire, and not very strongly covered. The wire entanglements are also pretty thick and well made, but nothing extraordinary. The descent to the river is very steep, and there is a military bridge at the bottom, which spans both the stream and the marshes. It has suffered noticeably by shell fire, besides which the Austrians tried to set fire to it. But hurriedly mended by our engineers, it serves well enough for our men to cross over. Even the artillery was able to get over, and is booming away ahead somewhere on the Austrian (west) side of the river.

At the Austrian end of the bridge are two half-burned corpses; sappers who died the death of the brave when the bridge was burning.

Beside the road, down the slope, there used to stand a straight row of village huts; now nothing is left of them except a few bricks and some charred posts. A good many cellars have been adapted for human habitation.

Only yesterday the battle was seething at this spot. Now it is strewn with silent corpses, abandoned rifles, and cartridges. Our medical corps are walking this way and that, looking for the wounded. In battles like this we gather in a good many of them. The Austrians in their hurried retreat have no time to pick them up, and we take possession of the battlefields, with all their trophies.

# How England's Blockade Is Operated

By Sir Frank Newnes

*Assistant Secretary of the Committee on Detention of Neutral Ships*

*Sir Frank Newnes, the London publisher, who is performing important duties in the Blockade Committee headed by Lord Peel, recently gave the members of the American Luncheon Club the most detailed description of the British system of blockade thus far offered to the public. Remarking that the blockade began with the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and that the total stoppage of Germany's trade through neutrals has been an enormous task, he explained the methods used as follows:*

**E**VERY ship east or west bound passing up or down the English Channel or by the north of Scotland is stopped by one of the British men-of-war, boarded, and examined. These ships are armed merchantmen and are on duty right across from the north of Scotland to Norway, one ship every twenty miles—they are manned by the Royal Naval Reserve men from the mercantile marine who are used to examining ships' papers and documents. A copy of the ship's manifest is then wired up to London—and to give you some idea of the labor involved some ships have between 300 and 600 different descriptions of goods on board, all of which have to be sent out—and thus these telegrams run to many thousands of words.

The telegraphed manifest goes at once before the Contraband Committee, which sits every day and all day, presided over by E. M. Pollock, King's Counsel and Member of Parliament for Warwick. The committee considers each item, and if it has any reasonable suspicion that any items are destined for the enemy the ship will be detained and ordered to unload the suspected items at a suitable port. If she has nothing suspicious the ship can proceed at once; and I may say that the Contraband Committee works so expeditiously that its decision on the

ship or goods is nearly always given the same day that the manifest is put before it.

When the manifest is telegraphed to the Contraband Committee it is also telegraphed to the War Trade Intelligence Department, which has been created for the purpose of supplying information on which the Contraband Committee can decide whether certain goods should be allowed to go forward or not.

In addition to the Contraband Committee there is the Enemy Exports Committee, presided over by Commander Leverton Harris, M. P., which deals with goods exported from Germany. This is a much simpler task than dealing with imports into Germany, as America and other countries, for the purpose of their customs, already require that the country of origin shall be given, and the effect has been that the export trade of Germany was almost immediately killed, and there is no doubt that this has been one of the great causes in the fall of the mark, as it compels Germany to pay in gold and not in goods.

When suspect goods are unloaded from a ship they are at once put into "prize," and the owner of the goods has to make a claim for their restitution and must bring an action for their recovery. Such actions are tried in the Admiralty Court, which is presided over by Sir Samuel Evans; and the goods are released, condemned, or dealt with as the court may deem just.

I have already told you that the desire of the British Government is to carry out this blockade with as little delay or inconvenience to neutrals as is possible, and I will now give you some of the arrangements made to insure this:

(1) Guarantees by importers—Agreements have been made with representative associations of merchants in

neutral countries, under which they undertake that goods consigned to them will not be exported to Germany nor be used in the manufacture of goods which are for export to Germany. The first of these was the Netherlands Oversea Trust, which was so successful that similar associations were formed in other countries—in Denmark the Danish Merchants' Guild, and in Switzerland the Société Surveillance Suisse.

Goods can now be exported from this country practically under license only, and such licenses are usually granted if the goods are consigned to these associations.

(2) *Agreements with shipping lines*—Agreements have been made with many shipping lines under which their ships are allowed to go forward, even if they have contraband on board or are carrying goods which our authorities suspect are for the enemy, on their undertaking to return such goods to this country for the prize court or to retain them in a neutral country until after the war. And in addition to this:

(3) *Bunker coal from any port in the British Empire* is refused to neutral ships unless they comply with certain conditions which insure that the goods they carry do not go to the enemy.

Both these classes of ships are called "white ships," and they are a large and increasing number, and most of the leading lines have made such arrangements. I would strongly advise any of you, when shipping goods, to see that the ship is a "white ship." If a ship is not a "white ship," there is, of course, a presumption that it is or may be carrying suspected goods, and thus it may be delayed and you suffer the suspicion attaching to other people's goods.

(4) *Skinner Scheme*—This is a scheme

which was suggested by Mr. Skinner, the American Consul General in London. It is this: A department has been opened in the British Embassy at Washington to which an American exporter can go and give particulars of the nature and amount of the goods he desires to export, and also the name of the consignee. The department will at once cable here to the Contraband Committee, who will cable him whether his goods would pass the blockade or not, and thus he can decide whether to ship them. If he ships the goods, the papers are marked accordingly, and some American lines will now take only goods which have passed the Skinner scheme.

(5) *Rationing*—It has been found that since the war broke out certain neutral countries have been importing a vastly increased amount of certain goods beyond their pre-war and normal requirements, and unless they were formerly importing large quantities of these goods from Germany and Austria there is an overwhelming presumption that they were imported for the purpose of re-export to Germany, and there is no doubt that this was done on a large scale.

To avoid this the system of rationing has been adopted under which the import of a given article into a neutral country is limited to the amount of its true domestic requirements. It is a very fair system, allowing as it does any neutral to carry on its own legitimate trade and to supply its own wants.

You will note thus that it may happen that when you apply to the War Trade Department for a license to export certain articles to neutral countries it may be refused not because there is any doubt in regard to your consignee, but for the reason that the country has already been supplied with the rationed amount of such goods.



# The British Trade Blacklist an Object of Controversy

GR<sup>EAT</sup> BRITAIN'S announcement on July 18 of a list of more than eighty firms in the United States with whom British subjects were forbidden to trade has met with almost universal condemnation in this country, and has been made the subject of a vigorous note of protest by the State Department at Washington, the text of which is printed herewith. As stated in that note, the blacklist seems to the Government of the United States "to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms."

The effect of a statutory boycott of this kind, it is contended, is to prevent even neutrals from trading with the blacklisted firms for fear of incurring the displeasure of the British blockading fleet, and thus ultimately to ruin the concerns named. Even some British papers, such as *The Manchester Guardian*, have supported the view of the United States, holding that the blacklist is ethically unsound, tending to establish a theory of international law which is essentially vicious, and which England herself will have cause to regret later when she may herself be a neutral.

The British Government, on the other hand, is inclined to stand firmly on the ground taken. "Personally," says Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of War Trade, "I cannot see any way by which we can forego our undoubted right to prevent our subjects from providing resources of trade to our enemies. There is not likely to be any change in the policy of the Allies as a result of neutral protests. Italy in her action in announcing a blacklist is likewise merely following the policy outlined at the Paris conference." The British Foreign Office also pointed out the fact that "long before the British statutory blacklist was put into operation the French Government prohibited its nationals from doing any business with

any enemy subject." An official of that office gave the following to the press:

From strictly legal points of view the blacklist system is a piece of purely domestic legislation which simply prohibits British subjects from dealing with certain persons. The right of any Government to impose such prohibition on its own nationals is hardly open to dispute.

I would quote on this point from Sir Edward Grey's reply to the American Ambassador on Feb. 16 last: "His Majesty's Government readily admit the right of persons of any nationality resident in the United States to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons. They cannot admit, however, that this right can in any way limit the right of other Governments to restrict the commercial activities of their nationals in any manner which may seem desirable to them, by the imposition of prohibitions and penalties which are operative solely upon persons under their jurisdiction."

Apart from the question of international law there is a further question as to whether we have done something which is unreasonable, or should seem unjust. The old English definition of the word enemy was a person domiciled in enemy territory, and had as its obvious basis a desire only to hit at individuals in so far as they were in a position to help their belligerent State. Unfortunately, in modern conditions of commerce, credit and communication, a German firm in America can help Germany in many ways, at least as much and sometimes more than a firm of the same standing in Germany. We do not criticise such firms for so doing, but is it unreasonable that we should in these cases refuse to allow their available capital to be swelled, or their position to be maintained by trading with us? Is it unreasonable that we should say that if a firm is really out to help our enemies it shall not at the same time enjoy all the benefits of friendly commercial intercourse with our country?

The blacklist of the Allies extends to all neutral countries, and has met with protest in many of these besides the United States. The total number of boycotted firms exceeds 1,500, as follows: Spain, 167; Brazil, 140; Netherlands, 120; Argentina and Uruguay, 95; Morocco, 88; Portuguese East and West Africa, Guinea, and Rio Muni, 87; Japan, 86; United States, 85; Norway, 83; Portugal, 79; Sweden, 72; Netherlands and East

Indies, 70; Ecuador, 69; Persia, 56; Greece, 50; Philippines, 44; Peru, 41; Chile, 35; Bolivia, 22; Cuba, 10; Central America, 5; Paraguay, 3; Colombia, 1.

The British Government promptly followed its blacklist announcement with modifying explanations, which, though not causing any alteration in the formal protest of the United States, somewhat calmed public opinion in this country. Ambassador Spring-Rice held several conferences with Acting Secretary Polk at Washington, in which he gave assurances that the blacklist did not have the far-reaching application imputed to it; that it would not affect existing contracts, and would not be extended to those who traded with blacklisted firms. The text of the British memorandum on

whose strength Sir Cecil Spring-Rice made these statements is in part as follows:

There is no idea of blacklisting a neutral firm merely because it continues to do business with a firm that is blacklisted, but if a neutral firm habitually and systematically acted as cover for a blacklisted firm, cases would be different.

Regarding payments to blacklisted firms, our action does not affect payments by neutrals, and we habitually grant licenses to British firms to pay current debts to blacklisted firms, unless it is clear beyond doubt that such payments would be passed on to or create a credit for enemies in enemy territory.

The United States remains convinced that the Allies' plan of individual boycott is a pernicious mistake, and the British Government's reply to the appended note is awaited with interest.

## Text of American Note on British Blacklist

THE United States Government formally protested against the British commercial blacklist in the following note, telegraphed by Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, to Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador in London:

Department of State,  
Washington, July 26, 1916.

You are instructed to deliver to Sir Edward Grey a formal note on the subject of the Enemy Trading act, textually as follows:

"The announcement that his Britannic Majesty's Government has placed the names of certain persons, firms, and corporations in the United States upon a proscriptive 'blacklist' and has forbidden all financial or commercial dealings between them and citizens of Great Britain has been received with the most painful surprise by the people and Government of the United States, and seems to the Government of the United States to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms.

"The scope and effect of the policy are extraordinary. British steamship companies will not accept cargoes from the proscribed firms or persons or transport their goods to any port, and steamship lines under neutral ownership understand that if they accept freight from them they are likely to be denied coal at British ports and excluded from other privileges which they have usually enjoyed, and may themselves be put upon the blacklist. Neutral bankers refuse loans to those on the list and neutral merchants de-

cline to contract for their goods, fearing a like proscription. It appears that British officials regard the prohibitions of the blacklist as applicable to domestic commercial transactions in foreign countries as well as in Great Britain and her dependencies, for Americans doing business in foreign countries have been put on notice that their dealings with blacklisted firms are to be regarded as subject to veto by the British Government. By the same principle Americans in the United States might be made subject to similar punitive action if they were found dealing with any of their own countrymen whose names had thus been listed.

"The harsh and even disastrous effects of this policy upon the trade of the United States and upon the neutral rights upon which it will not fail to insist are obvious. Upon the list of those proscribed and in effect shut out from the general commerce of the world may be found American concerns which are engaged in large commercial operations as importers of foreign products and materials and as distributors of American products and manufactures to foreign countries and which constitute important channels through which American trade reaches the outside world. Their foreign affiliations may have been fostered for many years, and when once broken cannot easily or promptly be re-established.

"Other concerns may be put upon the list at any time and without notice. It is understood that additions to the proscription may be made 'whenever on account of enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons it appears to his Majesty expedient to do so.' The possibilities

of undeserved injury to American citizens from such measures, arbitrarily taken, and of serious and incalculable interruptions of American trade are without limit.

"It has been stated on behalf of his Majesty's Government that these measures were aimed only at the enemies of Great Britain and would be adopted and enforced with strict regard to the rights of neutrals and with the least possible detriment to neutral trade; but it is evident that they are inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all the nations not involved in war. The Government of the United States begs to remind the Government of his Britannic Majesty that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with the people or the Governments of any of the nations now at war, subject only to well-defined international practices and understandings which the Government of the United States deems the Government of Great Britain to have too lightly and too frequently disregarded.

"There are well-known remedies and penalties for breaches of blockade, where the blockade is real and in fact effective, for trade in contraband, for every unneutral act by whomsoever attempted. The Government of the United States cannot consent to see those remedies and penalties altered or extended at the will of a single power or group of powers to the injury of its own citizens or in derogation of its own rights. Conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere. Such safeguards the blacklist brushes aside. It condemns without hearing, without notice, and in advance. It is manifestly out of the question that the

Government of the United States should acquiesce in such methods or applications of punishment to its citizens.

### UNNEUTRAL FIRMS NOT SHIELDED

"Whatever may be said with regard to the legality, in the view of international obligation, of the act of Parliament upon which the practice of the blacklist as now employed by his Majesty's Government is understood to be based, the Government of the United States is constrained to regard that practice as inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize the dealings of friendly Governments with one another. The spirit of reciprocal trade between the United States and Great Britain, the privilege long accorded to the nationals of each to come and go with their ships and cargoes, to use each the other's shipping, and be served each by the other's merchants is very seriously impaired by arbitrary and sweeping practices such as this.

"There is no purpose or inclination on the part of the Government of the United States to shield American citizens or business houses in any way from the legitimate consequences of unneutral acts or practices; it is quite willing that they should suffer the appropriate penalties which international law and the usage of nations have sanctioned; but his Britannic Majesty's Government cannot expect the Government of the United States to consent to see its citizens put upon an ex parte blacklist without calling the attention of his Majesty's Government, in the gravest terms, to the many serious consequences to neutral right and neutral relations which such an act must necessarily involve. It hopes and believes that his Majesty's Government, in its natural absorption in a single pressing object of policy, has acted without a full realization of the many undesired and undesirable results that might ensue.

"POLK, Acting."



# The Fryatt Case

## A British Sea Captain Executed by Germans for Trying to Ram a Submarine

**C**APTAIN CHARLES FRYATT, master of the Great Eastern Railway's steamer *Brussels*, which was captured by German warships on June 23, 1916, and taken to Zeebrugge, was tried by German court-martial at Bruges, Thursday, July 27, condemned to death by shooting, and executed that afternoon. The charge against him was that of attempting to ram the German submarine U-33. At Zeebrugge, when the prisoners were searched, a watch was found on the person of Captain Fryatt, which had been presented to him by the Mayor of Harwich in a public demonstration in honor of this act. The inscription on the watch showed that it was presented to him on account of his successful escape with his steamer from a submarine which he attempted to ram when called upon to surrender. The German authorities, having established his identity by this watch, imprisoned him at Bruges, while the other prisoners were sent to Ruhleben. His trial was brief and ended in his summary execution as a "franc-tireur."

The first news came through a Reuter dispatch from Amsterdam July 28 in a German communiqué, in which the shooting was justified in the following terms:

The accused was condemned to death because, although he was not a member of a combatant force, he made an attempt on the afternoon of March 20, 1915, to ram the German submarine U-33 near the Maas light-ship. The accused, as well as the first officer

and the chief engineer of the steamer, received at the time from the British Admiralty a gold watch as a reward of his brave conduct on that occasion, and his action was mentioned with praise in the House of Commons.

On the occasion in question, disregarding the U-boat's signal to stop and show his national flag, he turned at a critical moment at high speed on the submarine, which escaped the steamer by a few meters only by immediately diving. He confessed that in so doing he had acted in accordance with the instructions of the Admiralty.

One of the many nefarious franc-tireur proceedings of the British merchant marine against our war vessels has thus found a belated but merited expiation.

The news of the execution created intense indignation in England, and was sternly denounced in neutral countries. It appears that the British Foreign Office had apprehensions of the fate of Captain Fryatt when he was first arrested. On June 28 Sir Edward Grey asked the United States Ambassador at Berlin to

ascertain the names of the prisoners on the captured *Brussels*. Mr. Gerard replied on July 1 that the officers and crew were safe at Ruhleben. On July 18 Sir Edward Grey telegraphed the United States Ambassador as follows:

\* \* \* His Majesty's Government are now in receipt of information to the effect that it is stated in the *Telegraaf* on the 16th instant that Captain Fryatt of that vessel is to be tried by court-martial at Ghent on the charge of ramming a German submarine, and Sir E. Grey will be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin can be requested by telegraph to be good enough to inquire whether this report is correct.



Sir E. Grey will be grateful if Mr. Gerard's reply can also be communicated by telegraph.

On July 20 Sir Edward again telegraphed Ambassador Gerard:

Sir E. Grey would be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin could be requested by telegraph to take all possible steps to secure the proper defense of Captain Fryatt in the event of the court-martial being held, and if his Excellency could be informed confidentially that his Majesty's Government are satisfied that, in committing the act impugned, Captain Fryatt acted legitimately in self-defense for the purpose of evading capture or destruction.

On July 25 the following was sent, marked "immediate":

Sir E. Grey would be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin could be informed that should the allegations on which the charge against Captain Fryatt is understood to be based be established by evidence, his Majesty's Government are of opinion that his action was perfectly legitimate.

His Majesty's Government consider that the act of a merchant ship in steering for an enemy submarine and forcing her to dive is essentially defensive and precisely on the same footing as the use by a defensively armed vessel of her defensive armament in order to resist capture, which both the United States Government and his Majesty's Government hold to be the exercise of an undoubted right.

The next day the British Foreign Office addressed the American Ambassador at London, prefacing its remarks with a copy of the German communiqué of July 28, and adding:

His Majesty's Government find it difficult to believe that a master of a merchant vessel who, after German submarines adopted the practice of sinking merchant vessels without warning and without regard for the lives of passengers or crew, took a step which appeared to afford the only chance of saving not only his vessel, but the lives of all on board, can have been deliberately shot in cold blood for this action.

If the German Government have in fact perpetrated such a crime in the case of a British subject held prisoner by them, it is evident that a most serious condition of affairs has arisen.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is therefore obliged, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, to request that urgent inquiry be made by the United States Embassy at Berlin whether the report in the press of the shooting of Captain Fryatt is true, in order that his Majesty's Government may have without delay a full and undoubted account of the facts before them.

Mr. Page replied by sending to Sir Ed-

ward Grey the following paragraph of a telegram which he had received from Mr. Gerard:

Berlin, July 27, (5 P. M.)

Referring to your telegrams Nos. 821 and 824, I brought the case of Fryatt, Captain of the steamship Brussels, to the attention of the Imperial Foreign Office in writing on the 20th and 22d, and requested an opportunity to engage counsel. A verbal reply was made yesterday, stating that the trial was fixed for today at Bruges. It was added that the Foreign Office had requested a postponement if possible.

I have today received a written reply stating that it is impossible to grant a postponement, inasmuch as German submarine witnesses could not be further detained.

Major Neumann has been appointed by the German authorities to defend Fryatt. He is in civil life an attorney and justizrat.

On July 31 Mr. Asquith, the Premier, made the following statement in the House of Commons:

I deeply regret to say that it appears to be true that Captain Fryatt has been murdered by the Germans. His Majesty's Government have heard with the utmost indignation of this atrocious crime against the law of nations and the usages of war. Coming as it does contemporaneously with the lawless cruelties to the population of Lille and other occupied districts of France, it shows that the German high command have under the stress of military defeat renewed their policy of terrorism. It is impossible to guess to what further atrocities they may proceed. His Majesty's Government, therefore, desire to repeat emphatically that they are resolved that such crimes shall not, if they can help it, go unpunished. When the time arrives they are determined to bring to justice the criminals, whoever they may be, and whatever their station. In such cases as this the man who authorizes the system under which such crimes are committed may well be the most guilty of all. The question of what immediate action should be taken is engaging the earnest consideration of the Government.

Again on Aug. 15, replying to a question, the Premier said:

This country will not tolerate a resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany after the war until reparation is made for the murder of Captain Fryatt. Some of our allies have suffered by brutalities even more gross and on a more extended scale than ourselves by action of the German authorities. We are in consultation with them as to the best, most effective steps to be taken, and as to what conditions should be expected in the terms of peace to secure reparation that will satisfy justice.

A member asked if the Government was "prepared to make a statement that

Emperor William is wanted for willful murder in this case." No answer was returned to this.

The shooting of Captain Fryatt has kindled a flame of hatred toward Germany no less violent than that which followed the execution of Miss Cavell. The act is denounced as judicial murder by all the allied naval and military experts, as well as by the best-informed naval critics in Holland and other neutral countries. On Aug. 10 the German Government issued the following statement in reply to the utterances of English officials on the subject:

It is only too intelligible that the English Government attempts to justify Captain Fryatt's action, for it is itself in a high degree a fellow-culprit. Captain Fryatt, acting as he did, acted only on the advice of his Government.

The British Government's statement intentionally misleads the public. Captain Fryatt did not attempt to forestall an under-water attack, without warning, by the submarine. The U-boat was above water, and signaled to him when above water to stop, according to the international code of naval warfare. Therefore, he did not merely attempt to save the lives of his crew, because they were not endangered. Moreover, on March 28, 1915, Captain Fryatt allowed the submarine, which was approaching his ship for the purposes of examination, to draw up close, so as to ram her suddenly and unexpectedly, his object being to destroy her, and so gain the reward offered by the British Government. This act was not an act of self-defense, but a cunning attack by hired assassins. Captain Fryatt boasted of his action, though happily he failed to attain his object. This was brought home to him during the trial by witnesses from the crew of the submarine in question, whose evidence was against him. The British Parliament believed he had succeeded and praised his conduct, and the British Government rewarded him.

The German War Tribunal sentenced him to death because he had performed an act of war against the German sea forces, although he did not belong to the armed forces of his country. He was not deliberately shot in cold blood without due consideration, as the British Government asserts, but he was shot as a franc-tireur, after calm consideration and thorough investigation. As martial law on land protects the soldiery against assassination, by threatening the offender with the penalty of death, so it protects the members of the sea forces against assassination at sea. Germany will continue to use this law of warfare in order to save her submarine crews from becoming the victims of francs-tireurs at sea.

Naval experts in the United States hold that Captain Fryatt was entitled to be regarded as a prisoner of war and that decisions in American courts upheld his act as an act of a belligerent.

The German Admiralty admit in their Appendix to the Naval Prize Regulations, June 22, 1914, and published Aug. 3, 1914, that the crew of an armed enemy merchant vessel are to be treated as prisoners of war if they resist capture. Thus, if Captain Fryatt's vessel had been armed, had resisted capture, and had later been captured, he would have been treated as a prisoner of war.

But the nature of arms is not designated and Dr. Hans Wehberg, a German international lawyer, does not specify what shall constitute defense, the legality of which he admits, (*Das Seekriegsrecht*, 1915):

The resistance of enemy merchant ships to capture would be then only not permissible if a rule against this had found common recognition. But in truth no single example can be produced from international precedents in which the States have held resistance as not permissible. Much rather in the celebrated decision of Lord Stowell in the case of the *Catharina* Elizabeth resistance was declared permissible, and Article 10 of the American Naval War Code takes up the same standpoint. Also by far the greater number of authors and the Institute of International Law share this view.

(Article 12, Paragraph 3 of the Oxford Rules says that it is permissible to public and also private enemy ships to defend themselves against the attack of an enemy ship.)

Also *de lege ferenda* the prevailing view is to defend. Should great merchant ships worth a million allow themselves to be taken by smaller ships only because the latter comply with the requirements of a so-called warship?

(This consideration also led the Committee of the Institute of International Law to recommend to that body that resistance should be declared permissible. Of the remarks of Rolin-Jaequemyns, *Annuaire de l'Institut*, XXVI., Page 518 et seq., Page 284.)

The enemy merchant ship has then the right of defense against an enemy attack, and this right he can exercise against visit, for this is indeed the first act of capture. The attacked merchant ship can indeed itself seize the overpowered warship as a prize.

(See also Fiore, *Annuaire de l'Institut*, XXVI., Page 517, and the prevailing opinion hereon. See Triepel, *Zeltschr.f. Völkerrecht* a.a.O., Page 285.)

Thus, in the light of German law and

German legal interpretation thereof, Captain Fryatt was acting well within his rights in attempting to ram a hostile submarine. Had he been armed he might have been successful. Even then he would have been a prisoner of war, for the Germans would have been

estopped, under their own regulations, from treating him otherwise. As it was, he used the only arm available—his ship. And because he used his ship and not a gun he was tried, convicted, and executed by a court of German naval officers as a "franc-tireur of the sea."

## Our Relations with Mexico

**L**ITTLE actual progress toward a settlement of the Mexican question has been made during the month, but the two Governments have exchanged friendly notes and come to a full agreement as to the next step to be taken. The various points at issue, notably Mexico's demand for the withdrawal of our troops and our demand that the border be safeguarded against murderous raids of Mexican outlaws, are to be submitted to a joint commission, consisting of three members from each nation. This plan was definitely proposed by General Carranza in his note of July 11, (presented by Señor Arredondo on July 12,) and was accepted by President Wilson with the suggestion that the powers of the commission be somewhat enlarged. This was answered promptly by General Carranza's appointment of Mexico's three Commissioners:

Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Cabinet and former Confidential Agent in Washington for the Carranza Government.

Alberto J. Pani, President of the Mexican National Railways.

Ignacio Bonillas, Sub-Secretary of the Department of Communications.

Some unavoidable delay has occurred in appointing the American members. Meanwhile General Pershing's force remains in Mexico, and the National Guard contingents from all the States continue in their encampments all along our side of the border, where they are receiving military drill under regular army officers and becoming the nucleus of a well-prepared army of defense for future emergencies. The border raids have ceased, at least for the present.

The diplomatic correspondence on the

subject begins with the Mexican note of July 11, which harks back to the American note published in the August number of *CURRENT HISTORY*. It is addressed to Mr. Lansing and reads as follows:

Mexico City, July 11, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: I have had the honor to refer the note of your Excellency, dated the 7th inst., which was transmitted to our Confidential Agent, Eliseo Arredondo, and upon doing so I wish to mention that I have received instructions from the First Chief in charge of the executive power of the Union, suggesting that you convey to his Excellency, President Wilson, the idea of naming three Commissioners to represent each of our Governments to meet in some place of mutual designation, hold conferences and resolve at once the point regarding the definite withdrawal of the American forces now in Mexico, draft a protocol of agreement regarding the reciprocal crossing of forces and investigate the origin of the incursions taking place up to date, so as to be able to ascertain responsibility and arrange definitely the pending difficulties or those that may arise between the two countries in the future, all this to be subject to the approval of both Governments.

The purpose of the Mexican Government is that such conferences shall be held in a spirit of the most frank cordiality and with an ardent desire to reach a satisfactory agreement and one honorable to both countries, with the understanding that if the United States Government accepts the idea hereby suggested this shall be the recommendation made to the Commissioners designated. The Mexican Government considers this the most efficacious medium of reaching a satisfactory solution and hopes the United States will state whether the suggestion is acceptable, in order that it may be immediately put in practice and that the Mexican Government may send the names of its delegates. Assure his Excellency of my highest consideration.

C. AGUILAR.

A cordial assent to the proposition was granted in the American reply, which was handed to Señor Arredondo, the Am-

bassador Designate of Mexico at Washington:

Washington, July 28, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's note transmitted under date of July 12 by Lic. Eliseo Arredondo, your Government's Confidential Agent in Washington, informing me that your Excellency has received instructions from the Citizen First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army charged with the executive power of the Union to propose that each of our Governments name three commissioners, who shall hold conferences at some place to be mutually agreed upon and decide forthwith the question relating to the evacuation of the American forces now in Mexico, and to draw up and conclude a protocol or agreement regarding the reciprocal crossing of the frontier by the forces of both countries, also to determine the origin of the incursion to date, in order to fix the responsibility therefor and definitely to settle the difficulties now pending or those which may arise between the two countries on account of the same or a similar reason; all of which shall be subject to the approval of both Governments.

In reply I have the honor to state that I have laid your Excellency's note before the President and have received his instructions to inform your Excellency that the Government of the United States is disposed to accept the proposal of the Mexican Government in the same spirit of frank cordiality in which it is made. This Government believes, and suggests, however, that the powers of the proposed commission should be enlarged so that, if happily a solution satisfactory to both Governments of the question set forth in your Excellency's communication may be reached, the commission may also consider such other matters the friendly arrangement of which would tend to improve the relations of the two countries; it being understood that such recommendations as the commission may make shall not be binding upon the respective Governments until formally accepted by them.

Should this proposal be accepted by your Excellency's Government, I have the honor to state that this Government will proceed immediately to appoint its commissioners, and fix, after consultation with your Excellency's Government, the time and place and other details of the proposed conferences.

Accept, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK L. POLK,  
Acting Secretary of State.

The response to this was handed to Mr. Polk by Señor Arredondo a week later, the text being as follows:

Mexico City, Aug. 4, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: In due reply to the courteous note of the Department of State, dated July 28, 1916, I have the honor to say to your Excellency that the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the executive power of the Mexican Republic, congratulates himself upon the laudable efforts of the American Government to arrive at a solution of existing difficulties between the two countries, and, to that effect, considering it of the greatest importance that a prompt decision be reached of the points which have caused the existing differences between the United States and Mexico, referred to in the note of the Mexican Government dated July 4 last, has seen fit to appoint at once a commission of three persons, constituted by Licentiate Luis Cabrera, Engineer Ignacio Bonillas, and Engineer Alberto J. Pani, to whom instructions have been given to devote their attention preferably to the resolution of the points mentioned in the previous note of this department.

Licentiate Eliseo Arredondo has been authorized to treat with the Department of State the matter of details relating to the place and date on which the Commissioners of the Mexican Government should meet the Commissioners of the United States in order to commence their labors.

I reiterate to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

C. AGUILAR.

Secretary of Foreign Relations.

At the present writing (Aug. 21) the American members of the commission have not yet been appointed, owing to the inability of two of those chosen by President Wilson to serve. The delay has nettled General Carranza, necessitating an informal explanation.

An official decree issued on Aug. 17 by the Mexican Government threatens to add another point of difference between the two countries. It provides that henceforth all foreigners who intend to acquire lands, mines, water rights, oil wells, timber lands, or fisheries must make formal declaration that they renounce their treaty rights and will claim only the same privileges as Mexican citizens. In other words, they must renounce the right to demand protection of their Governments. Authorities on international law regard it as very unlikely that any Government will recognize such a decree.

# The Irish Situation

## Collapse of the Home Rule Plan—Execution of Sir Roger Casement.

**H**ENRY EDWARD DUKE, a barrister and Unionist member of Parliament for Exeter, was appointed the new Chief Secretary for Ireland on July 31, in succession to Augustine Birrell. Lord Wimborne, who resigned as Lord Lieutenant after the Dublin outbreak, but whose resignation had not been accepted, withdrew it a few days later, and thus the Dublin Castle rule for Ireland, which was to have been abolished by the substitution of an Irish Parliament with the six Ulster counties excluded, was formally set up again.

This announcement was the signal for a fresh outburst of bitter protest from John Redmond, the Nationalist leader, and other Nationalist members. A declaration issued by the Nationalist Party in Parliament declared that its members considered themselves absolved from association with the Coalition Government, and free to oppose it independently in any circumstances.

The debates in the House of Commons on the Irish question were marked by intense bitterness. The Government was freely charged with breach of faith in failing to present the Home Rule bill, and in setting up again the control of Irish affairs at Dublin Castle by a Unionist Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary.

### LLOYD GEORGE'S PLAN FAILS

In the House on July 24, Mr. Lloyd George made a frank confession of his failure to reach a settlement. His words, which follow, are in answer to a bitter speech of criticism by John Redmond:

There was a clear understanding between the parties that the Ulster counties should not be automatically included, and that that should be made absolutely clear on the face of the bill (the proposed Home Rule bill.) That is all the Government asked for, and that is the only thing they say at the present moment. The second point is the alteration in the form of the agreement with regard to the number of Irish members. Here I say at once the heads of the settlement have been departed from. The Irish members were

to remain in undiminished numbers in this House until a permanent settlement had been carried through and embodied in an Act of Parliament. Mr. Redmond asked me: Why have we departed from that? I will state quite frankly why. It is perfectly true that the suggested alteration was placed before Mr. Redmond after the statement of the Prime Minister. The position was this: The whole of my honorable friends who represent the Unionist Party found it to be quite impossible for them to vote for a proposal which would maintain the Irish members in undiminished numbers in the Imperial Parliament after a general election and after a Home Rule Government had been set up in Ireland. They informed us that if they supported the proposal there would not be a single supporter of it in their own party, and that even members of the Unionist Party who were prepared to agree to bringing Home Rule into operation immediately would object to that particular proposal.

What, therefore, was the alternative proposal? The proposal was that until the dissolution the Irish members should remain in the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers; that, after the dissolution the provisions of the Home Rule act should come into operation, but that the Irish members should be summoned to the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers whenever the Imperial Parliament came to consider a permanent settlement.

The objection raised by the Unionist members to the proposal was this: They said Home Rule for three-fourths of Ireland would have come into operation, and that after dissolution, if the Irish members were here in undiminished numbers, it might make the difference between, say, a Liberal and a Unionist Government.

They considered that to be perfectly unfair from the point of view of the ideas which they represent, and they stated quite distinctly that it would be impossible for them to assent to it. Therefore, we were face to face with the fact that the agreement could not be put through without that modification.

The Government are in a position to introduce a measure for bringing the Home Rule act into immediate operation for all the counties of Ireland except six. The powers of the Home Rule act in respect of that part of Ireland will be absolutely unimpaired except in regard to the Court of Appeal. Mr. Redmond says if there is any attempt to force the bill with these modifications upon Irish members they will resist it—that they will not merely resist these provisions, but they

FIELD MARSHAL PAUL VON HINDENBURG



*Meine Liebste der Geist von 1914/15  
erfüllten haben  
von Hindenburg*

German General Recently Placed in Supreme Command of all Forces  
of the Central Powers on the Eastern Front.

ADMIRAL REINHARD SCHEER



German Vice Admiral Who Commanded the Kaiser's Fleets in the Battle of the Skagerrak, and Who Was Made a Full Admiral Immediately Afterward.

(Photo from Central News Service.)

will resist the whole bill. If that is the view of Irish members it would be idle for the Government to bring in a bill for bringing Home Rule into immediate operation under any conditions. I deeply regret it. I think it is a disaster. Honorable members know their difficulties, which are undoubtedly very great. But at the same time I wish that they could have seen their way. Let them believe that it would be impossible for us to attempt to bring the Home Rule act into operation during the war except under those conditions.

I consulted the Prime Minister in respect of every turn and every move of the negotiations. I can say on my conscience that we have done our best. We have failed. I regret it in my heart. I have been for twenty-six years a member of this House and I was elected on Home Rule. The contest was fought on Home Rule in a constituency which cared perhaps far more for Disestablishment than anything else. I have had differences of opinion with my honorable friends from Ireland on many points, but on one point I have never had any difference, I have voted consistently for every proposal to give self-government to Ireland. I still believe at this moment that you cannot govern a high-spirited and courageous race—and not even the bitterest opponents of Home Rule will deny those qualities to the Irish people—against their will. You cannot govern them except with their consent. I regret from the bottom of my heart these misunderstandings, failures to get consent. \* \* \* But the Government ought not to, and will not, force this proposal upon them.

## TWO STUMBLING BLOCKS

On July 28 Mr. Lloyd George gave the following statement to The Associated Press:

There were two points on which there was disagreement at the end of the negotiations. One dealt with the means by which the exclusion of the six Ulster counties was to continue or to be brought to an end. This, to my view, although I believe Mr. Redmond differs on that point, was less a matter of substance than of words. The Nationalists agreed it was impossible that the Ulster counties should be coerced into an Irish Parliament. It was understood that when they were willing to come in no one would seek to keep them out. Their exclusion for the present would not have affected in the slightest degree the full powers given to the Nationalist part of Ireland under the Home Rule act. The question of their coming in voluntarily afterward could have been decided when it had been seen how home rule was working out.

The second point was connected with Irish representation at Westminster. It is not unnatural that the Unionists contended that Ireland is proportionately over-represented in the House of Commons, and that

it would not have been fair, either to the portion of Ireland remaining outside of the home rule scheme or to the other parts of the British Isles, to have retained such a full representation of Irish constituencies in the Commons after the larger part of Ireland had a Parliament of its own to settle its domestic affairs. However, the scheme of settlement proposed stated in so many words that when Irish affairs were to be discussed in the London Parliament the full Irish representation should be called to participate as before the existence of the Irish Parliament.

Although the re-establishment of executive rule in Ireland at Dublin Castle indicates that home rule has been abandoned, the idea persists that the Nationalists may yet be brought about to accept the Lloyd George proposals and a truce proclaimed until the Imperial Conference of all the self-governing dominions after the war can permanently settle the Irish question.

## THE SINN FEIN REBELLION

The report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the Irish revolt was made public July 4, 1916. The following were the conclusions:

It is outside the scope of your Majesty's instructions to us to inquire how far the policy of the Irish executive was adopted by the Cabinet as a whole, or to attach responsibility to any but the civil and military executive in Ireland; but the general conclusion that we draw from the evidence before us is that the main cause of the rebellion appears to be that lawlessness was allowed to grow up unchecked, and that Ireland for several years past has been administered on the principle that it was safer and more expedient to leave law in abeyance if collision with any faction of the Irish people could thereby be avoided.

Such a policy is the negation of that cardinal rule of Government which demands that the enforcement of law and the preservation of order should always be independent of political expediency.

## IMPORTATION OF ARMS

We consider that the importation of large quantities of arms into Ireland after the lapse of the Arms act, and the toleration of drilling by large bodies of men, first in Ulster and then in other districts of Ireland, created conditions which rendered possible the recent troubles in Dublin and elsewhere.

It appears to us that reluctance was shown by the Irish Government to repress by prosecution written and spoken seditious utterances, and to suppress the drilling and manoeuvring of armed forces known to be under the control of men who were openly declaring

their hostility to your Majesty's Government and their readiness to welcome and assist your Majesty's enemies.

This reluctance was largely prompted by the pressure brought to bear by the Parliamentary representatives of the Irish people, and in Ireland itself there developed a widespread belief that no repressive measures would be undertaken by the Government against sedition. This led to a rapid increase of preparations for insurrection and was the immediate cause of the recent outbreak.

We are of opinion that from the commencement of the present war all seditious utterances and publications should have been firmly suppressed at the outset, and if juries or magistrates were found unwilling to enforce this policy further powers should have been invoked under the existing acts for the defense of the realm.

We are also of opinion that on the outbreak of war all drilling and manoeuvring by unrecognized bodies of men, whether armed or unarmed, should have been strictly prohibited, and that as soon as it became known to the Irish Government that the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army were under the control of men prepared to assist your Majesty's enemies if the opportunity should be offered to them, all drilling and open carrying of arms by these bodies of men should have been forcibly suppressed.

It does not appear to be disputed that the authorities in the Spring of 1916, while believing that the seditious bodies would not venture unaided to break into insurrection, were convinced that they were prepared to assist a German landing.

We are further of opinion that at the risk of a collision early steps should have been taken to arrest and prosecute leaders and organizers of sedition.

#### MR. BIRRELL'S RESPONSIBILITY

For the reasons before given, we do not think that any responsibility rests upon the Lord Lieutenant. He was appointed in February, 1915, and was in no way answerable for the policy of the Government.

We are, however, of the opinion that the Chief Secretary as the administrative head of your Majesty's Government in Ireland is primarily responsible for the situation that was allowed to arise and the outbreak that occurred.

Sir Matthew Nathan assumed office as Under Secretary to the Irish Government in September, 1914, only. In our view he carried out with the utmost loyalty the policy of the Government, and of his immediate superior the Chief Secretary, but we consider that he did not sufficiently impress upon the Chief Secretary during the latter's prolonged absences from Dublin the necessity for more active measures to remedy the situation in Ireland, which on Dec. 18 last in a letter to the Chief Secretary he described as "most serious and menacing."

We are satisfied that Sir Neville Cham-

berlain, the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and Colonel Edgeworth-Johnstone, the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, required their subordinates to furnish, and did receive from their subordinates, full and exact reports as to the nature, progress, and aims of the various armed associations in Ireland. From these sources the Government had abundant material on which they could have acted many months before the leaders themselves contemplated any actual rising.

For the conduct, zeal, and loyalty of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police we have nothing but praise.

We do not attach any responsibility to the military authorities in Ireland for the rebellion or its results. As long as Ireland was under civil government those authorities had nothing to do with the suppression of sedition. Their duties were confined to securing efficiency in their own ranks and to the promotion of recruiting, and they could only aid in the suppression of disorder when duly called on by the civil power. By the middle of 1915 it was obvious to the military authorities that their efforts in favor of recruiting were being frustrated by the hostile activities of the Sinn Féin supporters, and they made representations to the Government to that effect. The general danger of the situation was clearly pointed out to the Irish Government by the military authorities, on their own initiative, in February last, but the warning fell on unheeding ears.

#### GENERAL MAXWELL'S REPORT

General Sir John Maxwell, who was in charge of the military operations in Ireland, submitted his report May 25; it was made public in July. The summary of his report follows:

(1) The rebellion began by Sinn Féiners, presumably acting under orders, shooting in cold blood certain soldiers and policemen. Simultaneously they took possession of various important buildings and occupied houses along the routes in the City of Dublin which were likely to be used by troops taking up posts.

(2) Most of the rebels were not in any uniform, and by mixing with peaceful citizens made it almost impossible for the troops to distinguish between friend and foe until fire was opened.

(3) In many cases troops having passed along a street seemingly occupied by harmless people were suddenly fired upon from behind from windows and roof tops. Such were the conditions when reinforcements commenced to arrive in Dublin.

#### SNIPING WAS CONTINUOUS

(4) Whilst fighting continued under conditions at once so confused and so trying, it is possible that some innocent citizens were shot. It must be remembered that the

struggle was in many cases of a house-to-house character, that sniping was continuous and very persistent, and that it was often extremely difficult to distinguish between those who were or had been firing upon the troops and those who had for various reasons chosen to remain on the scene of the fighting, instead of leaving the houses and passing through the cordons.

(5) The number of such incidents that has been brought to notice is very insignificant.

(6) Once the rebellion started the members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police—an unarmed uniformed force—had to be withdrawn, or they would have been mercilessly shot down, as, indeed, were all who had the bad luck to meet the rebels. In their absence a number of the worst elements of the city joined the rebels and were armed by them. The daily record of the Dublin Magistrates' Court proves that such looting as there was was done by such elements.

(7) There have been numerous incidents of deliberate shooting on ambulances and those courageous people who voluntarily came out to tend to the wounded. The City Fire Brigade, when turned out in consequence of incendiary fires, were fired on and had to retire.

(8) As soon as it was ascertained that the rebels had established themselves in various centres, the first phase of operations was conducted with a view to isolate them by forming a cordon of troops round each.

(9) To carry out this streets were selected, along which the cordon could be drawn. Some of these streets, for instance, North King Street, were found to be strongly held, rebels occupying the roofs of houses, upper windows, and strongly constructed barricades.

(10) Artillery fire was only used to reduce the barricades, or against a particular house known to be strongly held.

(11) The troops suffered severe losses in establishing these cordons, and, once established, the troops were subjected to a continuous fire from all directions, especially at night time, and invariably from persons concealed in houses.

#### LOSSES AMONG THE TROOPS.

(12) To give an idea of the opposition offered to his Majesty's troops in the execution of their duty, the following losses occurred:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers .....	17	46
Other ranks .....	89	288

(13) I wish to draw attention to the fact that, when it became known that the leaders of the rebellion wished to surrender, the officers used every endeavor to prevent further bloodshed; emissaries were sent in to the various isolated bands, and time was given them to consider their position.

(14) I cannot imagine a more difficult situation than that in which the troops were placed; most of those employed were draft-

finding battalions, or young Territorials from England, who had no knowledge of Dublin.

(15) The surrenders, which began on April 30, were continued until late on May 1, during which time there was a considerable amount of isolated sniping.

(16) Under the circumstances related above I consider the troops as a whole behaved with the greatest restraint, and carried out their disagreeable and distasteful duties in a manner which reflects the greatest credit on their discipline.

(17) Allegations on the behavior of the troops brought to my notice are being most carefully inquired into. I am glad to say they are few in number, and these are not all borne out by direct evidence.

(18) Numerous cases of unarmed persons killed by rebels during the outbreak have been reported to me. As instances, I may select the following for your information:

J. Brien, a constable of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was shot while on duty at Castle Gate on April 24. On the same day another constable of the same force named M. Lahiff was shot while on duty at St. Stephen's Green. On April 25 R. Waters of Recess, Monkstown, County Dublin, was shot at Mount Street Bridge while being driven into Dublin by Captain Scovell, R. A. M. C.

All these were unarmed, as was Captain Scovell. In the last case the car was not challenged or asked to stop.

(19) I wish to emphasize that the responsibility for the loss of life, however it occurred, the destruction of property and other losses, rests entirely with those who engineered this revolt, and who, at a time when the empire is engaged in a gigantic struggle, invited the assistance and co-operation of the Germans.

#### CASEMENT'S TRAGIC END

The melancholy tragedy of Sir Roger Casement, one of the moving spirits in the Irish revolt, ended with his death on the gallows for high treason. He was hanged at Pentonville Prison at 9 o'clock Thursday morning, Aug. 3. He was executed in his own clothes, but was not permitted to wear a collar. A Roman Catholic priest ministered to him during his last moments, and led the procession to the scaffold. Casement had been brought up in the Protestant faith, but became a convert to Roman Catholicism after his trial and took his first communion the morning of his death.

Two hours before the execution a crowd of men and women gathered before the prison gates, and when the prison bell announced that the trap had been sprung there was a mocking, jeering yell from

the crowd; but, elsewhere, behind the prison, thirty Irish men and women were assembled, and when the clang of the bell announced that the doomed man had paid the penalty, they fell on their knees and remained thus for some minutes in silent prayer.

Earnest efforts were made to secure a commutation of Sir Roger Casement's sentence. The Senate of the United States passed a resolution asking that clemency be exercised. Pope Benedict also interceded in his behalf, and an impressive petition to this effect was presented, signed by the most distinguished Catholic and Protestant clergymen and laymen of the United Kingdom.

The British Government, through Lord Robert Cecil, issued the following formal statement regarding the execution:

No doubt of Casement's guilt exists. No one doubts that the court and jury arrived at the right verdict. The only ground for a reprieve would be political expediency, a difficult ground to put forward in this country. This country never could strain the law to punish a man for the same reason that it could not strain the law to let one off.

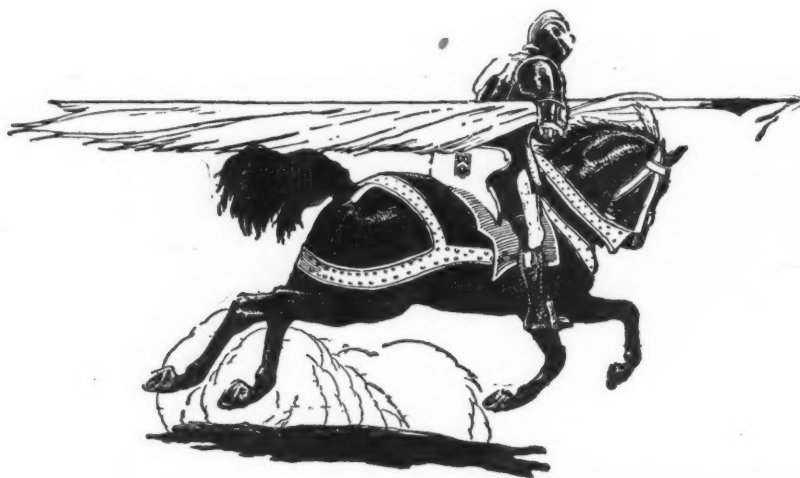
The Irish rebellion began with the murder of unarmed people, both soldiers and police. No grievance justified it, and it was purely a political movement organized by a small section of Irish people who still hate Eng-

land and were assisted by Germany. There was and is in this country the greatest possible indignation against these people. There is no doubt that Casement did everything possible to assist this rebellion in co-operation with the Germans. There can be no doubt that he was moved by enmity for this country. The contention that he landed in Ireland for the purpose of preventing the rebellion is demonstrably false. No such assertion was made by counsel at the trial.

Casement was much more malignant and hostile to this country than were the leaders of the rising, who were caught with arms in their hands. He visited military prisons in Germany with the intention of persuading Irish soldiers to throw off their allegiance. All sorts of promises were made for the improvement of the conditions of these men to induce them to join the Irish legion. An enormous majority thus approached refused and thereafter were subjected to increased hardships by the Germans. From among these Irish soldiers a number have since been repatriated as hopeless invalids, and they subsequently died. They looked upon Casement as their murderer.

Nor is there any ground, public or private, so far as we know, which can be quoted in mitigation of Casement's crime, and I do not think any Government doing its duty could interfere with the sentence which has been passed on him.

Irishmen throughout the world expressed deep indignation in that the sentence was not commuted. The American press generally advocated that course very strongly.



# MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES

## What Is Militarism?

*By the Editor of The London Times' Literary Supplement*

WE have all been talking for a long time about militarism, especially Prussian militarism; but it is not even now too late to ask what we mean by it, because many people seem to think that it cannot be separated from its epithet Prussian; in fact, that it is bad because it is Prussian, and because the Prussians are bad. But the Prussians have just as much right to be militarist as any other nation. We must not be misled by their conviction that they are necessarily saved into a belief that they are necessarily damned. There was a time when Frederick the Great was to the English people the Protestant Hero. They admired in him just what we condemn now in the modern Prussian; but they called it by a different name. So there are people in England now who really do admire the Prussian state of mind; at least, they would admire it if it were English. It seems to them wrong in the Prussians only because they are Prussians, just as it seems to the Prussians themselves right because they are Prussians. Such people, whether Prussians or English, are not capable of thinking clearly about militarism at all.

The first thing to be said against militarism is that it is a kind of national hypochondria. Just as the hypochondriac sees life in terms of death, sees it as a perpetual effort to avoid death, so the militarist sees peace in terms of war, sees it as a perpetual effort to avoid defeat in war. Now the Prussian, we must confess, has some excuse for his hypochondria. He is like a man who has actually suffered from a very serious illness. It is a hundred years and more ago that Prussia was conquered and dismembered and almost destroyed by Napoleon. But a shock of that kind stays long in a national memory. Further, all the romance of Prussian history has

gathered around the Prussian struggle for freedom; at least, for what the Prussian calls freedom. That struggle is the great achievement of Prussia, the only one of which she can be morally proud. The rest of her history is, in the main, flat burglary. Even then she was fighting only for herself; but she did fight in such a way that she seemed to the rest of the world worth fighting for. Unfortunately she was confirmed then in a belief which she had held before, that her sole national function was to fight for herself, and even when she was not fighting to conceive of peace in terms of war.

Needless to say, there is some excuse for her, apart from Jena and its consequences. No one has ever liked Prussia; she has always been geographically weak, and therefore has always wished to make herself geographically stronger at the expense of some one else. She is like a self-made man, and one who has made himself by ruthless competition, at first with other little tradesmen, and afterward as a huge joint stock company. Such a man, especially if he has been once bankrupt and several times very near bankruptcy, sees all life as a struggle for life; and that is how Prussia sees it. That is why she is militarist; and she can make out a case why she should be militarist.

Even before the war, when she was at the height of her strength, she was still thinking of her weak frontier; she had persuaded herself that she was afraid of the Russian peril. History, according to her notion of it, consisted of an incessant and inevitable struggle between the Teuton and the Slav; and the moment had come when the Teuton must get his blow in first if he was not to be overcome later. The Prussian says that he is fighting in self-defense; we say that he is fighting to dominate Europe; but

the difference between us is not so great as it seems; for, according to the Prussian idea, he will never be safe until he dominates Europe; and he has a right to dominate Europe because other nations will not let him alone. If they would let him alone he would be an innocent lamb.

This state of mind is not confined to Prussia; and there is always some excuse for it, just as there is some excuse for the perpetual fears and precautions of the hypochondriac. Men do fall ill and die, and we must all die some day; and nations do attack each other, they do rise and fall; and, so far as we know, they are all subject sooner or later to an inevitable process of decay. But the Prussians have been more hypochondriacal—that is to say, more militarist—than any other people. That which is in other nations an occasional weakness is with them an obsession, so that they have become quite unable to distinguish between real and imaginary dangers. There is always a hypochondriacal faction in every country; but in Prussia that faction is the nation; and, as to the private hypochondriac the doctor is a priest, so the officer is a priest to every Prussian.

For the Frenchman or the Englishman there are many and diverse romances in life; and his country means to him many different things. But for the Prussian there is only one romance, a sick-room romance of war and victory; and his country means to him his army. That is his one achievement, and whatever else he does well is subordinate to it. The Prussians, as nobody can deny, have a great power of organization; but even that is a part of their hypochondria. They organize their country as a hypochondriac of strong will and methodical habits organizes his life. He may learn to play golf well or to walk far and fast; but he has learned it all to keep himself in health; and so the Prussians have organized themselves better, perhaps, than any other people, but always with an eye to war. And the aim of their organization is not freedom or a full, rich life, but victory in that war which they are always expecting. They protest, and truly, that they have not in the last

century made war so often as some other nations. So a hypochondriac might say that he has not been ill so often as some more healthy-minded persons.

But the Prussians more than other nations have thought about war and have organized themselves for war; they have behaved always as if war could be the only end of their relations with the rest of the world; and they have at intervals willed war and made it more ruthlessly than any other people. Often they have got their way without war, because other nations knew how well they were prepared for it and that they would make it without scruple if they could not get their way otherwise. So they might say that their method has been justified, that it has, in fact, insured peace, if it were not that the effect of this method has been cumulative.

The whole of Europe has known for many years that the Prussians would make war whenever they thought that the moment for it had come. They were always aware of the mailed fist even when it was disguised in the velvet glove. Elsewhere there were squabbles and threats of war; but the bark of other nations was worse than their bite. And all the while Prussia was waiting to bite, because she alone of all the nations had no desire for a permanent peace, no belief that it was possible. She infected the rest of Germany with her hypochondria, and she might infect the whole world if she got any advantage in this war. For the power of hypochondria lies in the fact that there is always some reason for it.

The Prussians can make out a case for themselves and for every brutal act they have committed in this war. There is no way of proving that they are wrong by absolute logic. It all depends whether you hope or fear most from life. The militarist fears most, and so any events which make the nations fear make them also militarist. And they are tempted to militarism most of all by an event so large and so disagreeable that it affects their whole conception of the nature of life, such as the Prussian victory in 1870. Then it seemed that a nation which organized itself for war, and willed war at

the moment best suited to its own purposes, had the very gods on its side. Then there was in England and all over the world a real admiration of Prussia and a belief, expressed by Carlyle, that the Prussians were God's chosen people. Compared with them other nations seemed to lack purpose and faith. As for France, she was frivolous and corrupt, and God had given judgment against her at Sedan.

The whole world began to believe that Prussia was illustrating the Darwinian theory, that by her victories she was proving herself to be the fittest of all nations to survive, and that other nations must imitate both her actions and her way of thinking, if they were not to be destroyed by the wrath of God, or the cosmic process, or whatever name was given to that power which was supposed to support and even to sanctify the Prussian method. In fact, the mind of Europe was darkened by the Prussian victory, and the hopes of Europe, even when they still seemed to be hopes, had become fears. It seemed to all the nations that they had been living too easily, that they had deluded themselves about the nature of the universe. All those things with which they had concerned themselves, such as freedom, equality, art, philosophy, were luxuries, and dangerous luxuries, in the world as it was. Their proper concern was their own existence, which was necessarily and rightly threatened by other nations and would be destroyed by any other nation which, like Prussia, had a superior sense of reality.

Everywhere there spread a belief that organization and efficiency were the highest virtues in a nation; and this meant always organization and efficiency directed against other nations. It was not that things were to be done well for the sake of doing them well; but that they were to be done well with an eye to that incessant war which, whether open or disguised, must always be carried on between the nations. The Prussians were perhaps the only people in Europe who actually enjoyed this view of life. They felt that a universe in which the struggle for life was the supreme fact was perfectly suited to their peculiar faculties.

They were to themselves the best scholars in that ugly school and sure to take all the prizes. Other peoples did not like the prospect, but it seemed to them full of unwelcome truth. If they were to survive they must learn from Prussia; and for fifty years they have been learning from her.

But now we are beginning to see that she had learned her lesson too well; that she has, in fact, reduced it to an absurdity. The rest of Europe, even if it thought a struggle inevitable, tried to put it off. Prussia, sure that she must win in that struggle, refused to delay it. And this refusal, this utter faith in her unlovely doctrine, has produced a combination against her, a counterfaith stronger than her own. In what seemed to her the moment of triumph, for which she had prepared with such fanatical diligence, it has threatened her with a danger that she never bargained for, with a diligence and a fanaticism at least equal to her own. Now we see, and she must see soon, that the actual facts of human nature are against her.

Men are of such a nature that they will not endure the Prussian theory of life when it is thoroughly and ruthlessly practiced. They will not endure a nation that lives for the struggle for life. That is the lesson of this war, if only we have the wit to learn it. It is that militarism does not protect the nation which is most thoroughly militarist, that the greater the triumphs of militarism the more certainly they produce a state of mind in the victors which, dangerous to the rest of the world, is more dangerous still to themselves. Disasters may come to the nation which trusts too much in righteousness. They are nothing to the disasters which come to the nation that trusts altogether in unrighteousness.

But there is a danger, in all the exasperation and strain of this conflict, that we shall ignore this most obvious lesson, that we ourselves shall catch the Prussian disease from our enemies. And no talk about Prussian militarism will preserve us from that disaster. Nothing will preserve us from it except a clear understanding of the nature of militar-

ism and of the fact that it is ultimately based upon fear, not upon hope; that it is hypochondria, not health. This is a dangerous world, and the only way to safety in it for nations, as for individuals, is to live dangerously. Prussia has tried to live safely, and she has been more threatened in her national existence than any other nation. She has trusted in herself rather than in right-

eousness because righteousness seemed too dangerous to her. The lesson of the present war is that it is safer at last to trust in righteousness. But that is a lesson which all Europe as well as Prussia has yet to learn, and the war will have been a ghastly waste of all good things unless it teaches that lesson, unless it is known in history as the event which refuted all the heresies of 1870.

## England's Purpose Regarding Germany

By Dr. Paul Rohrbach

*Noted German Publicist*

Dr. Rohrbach is the author of a new brochure on the war, entitled "Der Deutsche Krieg," in which he elaborates this latest German view of England's policy.

**D**URING the negotiations that preceded the war were England's concessions in the matter of the African colonies and the Bagdad railway a mere mask? These concessions were far-reaching and undoubtedly created an excellent impression in Germany. It was clear that, at any rate, a portion of the British Government did not believe in a German attack, and it was clear that the German Chancellor had begun to trust England. \* \* \* It is one thing to come to terms with a Germany which feels itself under the pressure of its Continental position with France in the west and Russia in the east, but it is quite another matter to arrange things with a Germany victorious over France and Russia, and not obliged to consider them. The Britisher felt that in the latter case nothing could prevent Germany, with the money she would force from France, from building a fleet equal in power to that of England. There was nothing to prevent Germany from presenting Italy with French North Africa, and in this way making an Italian sea of the Mediterranean. England was faced with this question, Will the future give birth to a Germany which will be in a position to oust England from her predominant position? England decided this question affirmatively, and took her fatal decision.

England was always in a position at

any time to prevent the war. All she had to do was to tell Russia that the mobilization of the Russian armies against Germany would not be followed by the participation of England in the war. Had England taken this attitude there would have been no war.

Instead of this England satisfied herself in Petrograd with undecided and half-hearted notes and negotiations, and as the Russian Government, which desired war, determined not to listen to the British advice, such as it was, the catastrophe was inevitable.

England's aim in this war is by no means to destroy Germany as a great power on the Continent. All England wishes to destroy is German competition in trade and the German fleet, mercantile and naval. In England it is considered possible to deprive Germany of her fleet without impairing her land power. It is regarded as in the best interests of England to give Germany enough military power to cope with France and Russia should these powers rise again and assert themselves. It would have been wiser for England had she arranged to accept our victory as inevitable and secured herself for the future. But England did not agree to this. She preferred to fight for the continued supremacy of England on the oceans and beyond them. Good. \* \* \* Experts

were right when they expected the troops of the English Regular Army to show excellent fighting value. There is no doubt that the French would have been broken in the first storm had not their left wing been strengthened by the British, not

only numerically, but still more in solid fighting power. In the decisive hour of the early campaign, and to a large extent, also, today, the British form the backbone of the enemy's resistance. This must be candidly admitted.

## Central Europe—Central Africa

By Dr. Paul Leutwein

This article was written for the *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschafts-Zeitung* by one of the younger German authorities on colonial politics and economics, who spent much of his early life in Africa and enjoys considerable prestige among his countrymen.

**S**ERIOUS discussion of the proposed economic union of the Central Powers is in full swing, thanks to the energetic action of the Central European societies. By means of his many-sided and illuminating book, "Central Europe," Friedrich Naumann has spread the idea so well that we may already speak of it as the popular thing in the two empires. "Central Europe" has already become a slogan, though it is by no means always understood in its complete significance.

Despite the fact that the pressure of the times has forced both empires to play the joint rôle of the "closed commercial State" in an economic sense, there are still a great many business men who cannot conceive of a victory over domestic frictions, because of their fear of new tasks. Others lack the historical spirit that would teach them out of the history of the German Tariff Union how the effect of an economic union on the broadest kind of a basis is full of unexpected blessings and how all domestic struggles are put aside, as if automatically. They also lack that intuitive thought by which our Friedrich List was enabled to see the brilliant economic and political development of Germany through a protective tariff and a uniform railroad system fifty years beforehand. Others, again, halt at the notion of a "solid commercial State," as they seem to believe that the period of practical proof in a politico-economic sense will then be followed by an autarchy of the broadest kind. These persons shall

receive my attention, as it is necessary to show them that an economic Central Europe is not the absolute end, but is solely intended to form a doubly powerful factor in the future struggle for international commerce by the allied powers.

The problem of Central Europe, with its extension to Bulgaria and Turkey, is being brought to the front almost too much, especially from the German side. The South German who knows the feelings our grandfathers entertained toward Prussia will easily understand that the laudable intention is liable to misinterpretations, especially on the part of those of our allies who, like Turkey, are the least ripe for the thought of economic union, and are, besides, accustomed to regard such deals as somewhat violent attempts at opening up their territory by the advanced States. It must be made clear to them that the German friend regards their interests the same as his own, and that he is by no means striving, because of the feeling of his present isolation, spasmodically to obtain in allied lands territory producing the raw material, the lack of which he must feel at present.

The most effective way to allay such apprehensions is by the avowal that Germany is by no means inclined to place all hopes for her economic future upon the Central European economic union alone, and that, as before, she holds fast to the plan of creating her own fields for the production of the raw material that she needs; that, in a word, Germany will

keep her eyes upon the colonial problem in connection with international commerce as well as upon that of Central Europe.

What raw materials are most needed by our country in war and peace has been revealed to us with desirable clearness by the long period of isolation. I mention cotton, rubber, copper, rice, corn, fibres, and the luxuries, tobacco and coffee, from the viewpoint of taxation; and, finally, the fat and oil producing plants. To what extent the latter were used we see by the shortage of vegetable butter, oils, soaps, cosmetics, and stuff for fodder. Purely tropical growths, such as palms, sesames, and earthnuts supplied us with these important materials in such increasing measure that already before the war people spoke of the Central European market's hunger for oil. And Austria-Hungary needs these products no less than we. It is true that progressive Bulgaria will enter the field as a purveyor in many respects, but, because of its limited territory, only on a modest scale. The matter of the supply of grain and animal products is an open question. It is certain that Russia, out of vital self-interest, will again appear as a seller, and perhaps the war has brought about a permanent reduction in the exaggerated needs of our people in this respect.

What, then, do we really expect from Turkey? We expect that after the war she will devote her best efforts to her economic development, either by the use of her own forces or through the wise attraction and employment of capable brains and capital from Central Europe. What Turkey expects from us, on the other hand, is patience and the respect of her right to choose her own destiny. Turkish sensitiveness in this matter, although rather exaggerated, is, as has already been indicated, entirely comprehensible. Now, political economy is the weak side of Turkey, and on the other hand she is accustomed to regard herself as a political factor of importance. Anybody who bears in mind the fact that Asiatic Turkey, three times as large as Germany, with about 17,000,000 inhabitants and scarcely 4,000 kilometers of railroads, without fully developed interior

waterways, is still a country whose imports, both in the industrial and agricultural field, far exceed its exports, or, in other words, is behind the more progressive colonies, will perceive that a great gap yawns between domestic economy and politics. A gap the closing of which was rather hindered than helped by the many attempts at development made by the powers of the Quadruple Entente, attempts that were conflicting and combined with all sorts of political aims. This is realized by the rulers of the Turkish State, and consequently they need time to collect their thoughts in order to work out their own salvation.

Furthermore, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that a great many important raw materials must be obtained from territory outside of the administration of our friends. On the other hand, we dare not simply count on the revival of international trade along the old lines after the war. It is true that the movement toward an economic union within the Quadruple Entente is apparently not making much progress. But within the British Empire the firm desire has been shown for a customs union, with the mother land going over to protection. It has also been shown that this dangerously tenacious and arrogant opponent is determined, either to decide the war in its favor in a political sense, or, following the cessation of hostilities, to continue it in the economic field until one side is exhausted. This makes it necessary for Germany to make herself as strong as possible in the matter of home production, both for her own needs and for purposes of international trade.

The combining of these ideas in the term Central Africa merely signifies that the efforts of our colonial circles are being concentrated more and more in this direction. And they ought to be centred that way, for in Central Africa are found our two most important colonies in the matter of tropical products that enter into international commerce, and whose reacquisition is constantly being emphasized in competent circles. There, in a mighty and uniform territory washed by the waters of two oceans, not only may all economic hopes be realized, but

also the best conditions be found regarding the ability of defense by our colonies that will be so important in the future. We shall not cite statistics here to prove this. They are to be found in a number of treatises on the colonies, including one by this writer. Besides, we shall not take into account those who insist upon the reacquisition of all our former colonial empire for national reasons. Who, indeed, does not sympathize with their ideas? But we are as yet unable to say by means of what pawns we shall make good our claims in the face of our principal opponents in the colonial field. As yet we do not even know for sure whether the idea of German Central Africa can be realized. What we do know, however, and what the Imperial Chancellor emphasized in his last speech, is that we need a strong colonial empire and that, following a well-thought-out plan, we must strive for its acquisition in the peace negotiations. In a word, we are opportunely and genuinely prepared, under any circumstances.

I already hear the voices of those who, because of the difficulties involved, do not care to understand this amplification of the problem of Central Europe. Of course, I am aware of these difficulties. We need a unified system of water and rail communication with Austria-Hungary, and yet we have no

supreme authority over the traffic within our own economic realm. The most important inland water highway of the coming Central Europe, the Danube, still awaits, under special difficulties, the work of dredging. Another chapter that has been hardly touched is the matter of the regulation of the unity of exchange. And these are only the most essential technical points preceding the real task of creating a customs union. All these, however, have nothing to do with the notion of international colonial commerce. The latter is, on the contrary, a much simpler and a purely German problem, but something that, taken in connection with Central Europe, is calculated to facilitate Germany's negotiations with her allies. It is to be hoped that the latter will recognize the fact that Germany is by no means obliged to come to an agreement with them.

I do not believe that the champions of the Central European tariff union, guided by considerations of international commerce, have overlooked the questions raised here. They understand what is meant when I say that if Central Europe should come to nothing we should need Central Africa all the more, and that we must never think of Central Europe without Central Africa, unless we wish to regard Germany's future tasks from a one-sided point of view.

## Japan and the United States

By Dr. Kurt Eduard Imberg

The following article, consisting of excerpts from a treatise written for the *Europäische Staats- und Wirtschafts-Zeitung* of Berlin, is an example of how the so-called Japanese-American problem is regarded by many German publicists.

**W**HILE in Europe the entire question of international politics seems centred in the mighty conflict of nations the world power of the Far East is taking steps to fish in troubled waters and to avail herself of the favorable moment, in which all the European powers interested in Eastern Asia are tearing each other to pieces, to realize without much expense the plans and dreams she has been cher-

ishing for years. For years the little yellow man of Nippon has been casting longing glances toward the Asiatic Continent and still further out over the Pacific Ocean, with the isles and islets that form the bridge to the longed-for west coast of America. \* \* \*

As long ago as the late '60s William H. Seward, at that time Secretary of State of the United States, declared that the Pacific Ocean would be the principal

stage upon which the great events of the coming century would be played. The hour for the fulfillment of this prophecy is constantly coming nearer, and the clash of the white and the yellow races in a battle for the rulership of this ocean is inevitable. Here the United States of America will have to play the principal rôle on the side of the white race. It will be obliged to take up the struggle in order to call a halt to the further advance of the aspiring Japanese world power. \* \* \*

There are two matters that have become of particular weight in the American-Japanese question. One is the jeopardizing of the interests of American trade in China, and the other the Japanese imperialism directed toward the East that finds its main expression in the immigration and Mexican questions. When we study the Asiatic policy of the United States we see that the Union has always been guided by two principles—the guaranteeing of the integrity of China and the maintenance of the so-called open door in that country.

In order to protect and enlarge these trade interests the policy of the United States was always to take great pains to defend the equality of all nations in the Chinese market. This activity was especially displayed in the numerous notes and protests directed by the American Government against the Russian policy in Manchuria at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time the interests of Japan and the United States in China appeared to be about the same. Both were interested in the maintenance of the integrity of China. Only after Japan's victorious war against Russia did the parting of the ways begin. Japan's establishing of herself in Korea, which was finally declared a Japanese province in 1910, as well as her economic advance in Manchuria, could not by any means be favorable to American interests. More and more did the Japanese policy show its true face; Asia for the Asiatics—that is, the Monroe Doctrine in a Japanese garb. \* \* \*

Although it may be Japan's first task to make East Asia a territory under Japanese economic control, she undoubtedly has political intentions, as may

easily be seen in the Sino-Japanese treaty of May 25, 1915, whose provisions—aside from those of a purely economic nature—contain many points that can hardly be permanently reconciled with the maintenance of the integrity of China. Of especial importance to the United States is Article 6 of the fifth section of this treaty, which provides that China must first ask the advice of Japan when it needs foreign capital for working mines, building railroads and port works, including dockyards, in the Province of Fukien. The United States has just undertaken to construct a military harbor for China in Amoy, in the Province of Fukien, and it is likely to be a severe blow to her economically and a still harder slap to her repute and prestige in Asia if she is obliged to let the Japanese slam the door in her face in Fukien. \* \* \*

Since the beginning of the world war there has been feverish activity in the United States directed toward the capturing of the Chinese market thrown open through the difficulties in which the European-Chinese trade is entangled \* \* \* Above all are the American efforts directed toward mining and railroad undertakings. But it is just here that the American capitalist is faced by a Japanese competitor, who has—as is proved by the new Japanese-Chinese treaty—special designs upon the railroads and mines, because the latter are of particular importance for Japanese industry. In competition with the American plans to found a Sino-American bank that will promote the commercial interests of the Union the Japanese are about to establish a Japanese bank in China. Another sign of the energetic commercial policy pursued by the United States is found in the recent opening of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, which is intended to look after and to protect American trade interests in China.

How will Japanese and American trade in China come to an understanding? It is hardly to be taken for granted that the United States will give up the field to the Japanese without more ado, and, on the other hand, Japan will not re-

linquish her plan to control the Chinese market. Sooner or later the economic interests of the two nations will clash at this point. Economic struggles are generally followed by an armed conflict, which may perhaps be delayed through a yielding on one side or the other, but which is inevitable, if both parties persist in their demands.

But the Chinese question is not the only point of irritation between the United States and Japan. The imperialistic plans of the Japanese are not content with the idea of Japan as a continental power; they reach out over the sea toward the islands of the Pacific and over toward the western coast of America. \* \* \*

It is known that Japanese have been implicated in the repeated insurrections in the Philippines, and that even to this day these intrigues have not ceased. Here, too, Japanese and American interests conflict. Of course the United States can do away with this bone of contention by voluntarily leaving the Philippines, as has indeed often been proposed in all seriousness by American politicians and writers who regard this group of East Asiatic islands as nothing but a drag on the Union, the cost of which is in nowise covered by its value. Such an abandonment of the Philippines would, nevertheless, constitute a very grave injury to the reputation of the United States in all Asia, and, on the other hand, would merely add impetus to the Japanese imperialism directed against the United States. The struggle for the rulership of the Pacific Ocean, looked upon by many as only a phantom, has entered upon a new stage through the establishment of Japan in the South Sea. The next step will be Hawaii, which already counts more than 80,000 Japanese among its population of approximately 150,000.

Then we come to a third "stumbling block" between the two States; the immigration question. It would lead too far, if we wished to go into the details of the entire question of immigration. But one point, which has again come to the fore with vigor of late, deserves to be brought out—namely, Japan's de-

signs in Mexico. These are by no means of recent date. Some years ago there were already rumors of alleged negotiations for the purchase by Japan of a coaling station on the Pacific Coast of Mexico, which naturally were promptly denied from Washington and Tokio. The value of such denials is well known. A little later it was said that Japan was planning great trading settlements in Mexico. In short, the impression was created that Japan could not be quite so disinterested in Mexico as the people in Tokio were trying to make it appear.

Japan's interest in Mexico is easy to see. For one thing it forms a good naval base, which would greatly facilitate the closing of the Panama Canal in case of war; for another, it forms a handy gate for the invasion of that paradise on the west coast of the United States that has been closed since 1907, but that is eagerly desired, nevertheless—California. \* \* \*

What dangers for the United States grow out of this policy of Japan seem to have been recognized in many Government circles in Washington, although perhaps not to their full extent, and there is a demand from all sides for resolute action on the part of the American Government in Mexico, where one civil war has followed another for a number of years. Up to the present, however, President Wilson has not been able to decide to give heed to these voices.

Of course it must be remembered in this connection that the people of the Eastern States of the Union do not really believe there is any danger from Japan, or, rather, do not want to believe it. They do not consider the entire question as serious as it is always represented to be by the Westerners. \* \* \* Of late, however, the people in Washington seem inclined to listen to the urgent exhortations from the West and to comprehend that the fears regarding Japan's imperialism entertained by the inhabitants of the Western States are not altogether groundless. Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, recently designated the Japanese Army as "a standing demonstration

against the United States." (NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 16, 1915.) This is naturally at the same time a gentle hint to the Americans to strengthen their army and navy, so that in the hour of danger these will be in condition to resist any possible encroachments. \* \* \*

We can hardly be mistaken when we assert that, in general, sentiment in Japan toward the United States is decidedly hostile and warlike, and the imperialists are busily engaged in heaping coals on the fire. In the United States, on the contrary, people try nervously to play the part of peace lovers, and to do everything possible to do away with anything that might disturb the relations between Japan and America. They no doubt feel on that side of the ocean that at present the American means of defense are not exactly "the biggest in the world."

The world war and the coming peace will hardly improve the relations between the United States and Japan. On the contrary, the "victory" of Japan over the second power of Europe—for there

is no doubt that the people in the realm of the Mikado will represent the capture of Tsing-tao as a "victory" of the Japanese arms—will also make Japan's attitude toward America more conceited and challenging. It is not to be wondered at if the Japanese Government soon digs up the immigration question, which was only temporarily settled by the legislation and negotiations of 1907 in a way that did not at all turn out as Japan wished, and to which the Japanese Government only assented at that time for political reasons. Now the people in Tokio will demand that the United States place the Japanese immigrants upon the same footing as those from European lands. \* \* \*

The clash between the United States and Japan is inevitable, even though it may be delayed for a few years through clever political tacking. The sooner the people in Washington perceive that the only danger that really threatens the United States comes from the west the easier it will be for the United States to meet it.

## Refugees From Russian Poland

*Miss Violetta Thurston, a nurse, has written a book on the tragedy of the refugees from Poland, who fled when the Germans invaded the country. She says:*

**F**ROM the farms and homesteads of Poland, the peaceful plains of Lithuania, the seaports of the Baltic provinces, from the mountains of Galicia and Ruthenia, they fled, to escape the roaring cannon and the devastating fire of the enemy.

Their new home in the interior of Russia was to them a foreign country, where the language, religion, and customs differed very much from their own; but their exile was made as little painful as possible by the kindness of the Russian peasants. Pity is one of the most marked and most beautiful characteristics of the Russian people. One may see the Russian soldier at the front giving not only his money and his food, but even his coat to a prisoner who looks ill and miserable.

Bitter as the sufferings of the Belgian refugees were, their physical privations were as nothing in comparison with what these people on the eastern frontiers have been called upon to endure.

The mental and moral sufferings are, of course, common to both nations. Belgians and Poles alike have had to bear the loss of country, home, friends, money—in fact, all that makes life most worth living to them, coming as strangers and pilgrims into a strange land, dependent for their very existence on the charity of others. But Poland's spiritual tragedy began a century and a half ago, when her nation was split up and her kingdom given to others. Now Pole is fighting against Pole, who are brothers, with the same nationality, language, religion, and traditions.

Belgium again, is a little country densely populated and in easy communication with Holland, France, and Eng-

land; the exodus there began in the Summer and was certainly over before the cold weather began. Russia, on the contrary, is an enormous country where the distances between towns are very great and where the climate is very severe.

The retreat had to be carried out very swiftly, under unheard of difficulties, and here there were no convenient neutral countries close at hand to take off some of the refugees. The whole refugee problem was and is on an enormous scale, and it is very much to the credit of the Russian authorities that with so little machinery available at first, they were able to accomplish so much. For it was no mean feat to evacuate in such a short time whole villages, towns, provinces, countries even, and get the inhabitants removed from the danger zone, where every available transport of any kind was crowded already almost beyond its utmost capacity with retreating troops, fighting as they retired, and hampered with the ammunition and sup-

plies of all kinds that must accompany them.

The refugee problem will not by any means be over with the end of the war. The question of how it is going to be made possible for these poor souls to return to their devastated, ruined homes will then be a very difficult one to answer. In trying to find a solution of the difficulty it must be remembered that it is not easy to help the people to help themselves. The iron has now entered into their souls. Many of them have lost so much that they have lost even hope, and they sit there apathetically, with their hands in their laps, waiting for everything to be done for them. Their self-respect has been lowered by the overcrowding, lack of privacy, and the indiscriminate mingling of the decent and the dissolute. Their physical constitution has been injured by the privations of the long retreat, the scanty food, and the unhygienic conditions of their present surroundings.

## Child Races of the World and Peace

By John H. Harris

[In The Contemporary Review, London]

WHAT place will be given to native races during the discussion of peace terms? The right of many millions of native peoples to some place in the European Peace Congress, when it takes place, needs only to be considered to be admitted, and the only divergence of view will probably be as to the method of representing their interests. By far the larger areas whose political status will be affected by the war are now occupied by the so-called subject races, and although the whole of these territories will not be affected to the same extent, it will certainly be found that the destiny of each will be materially changed by the present world conflict.

The German colonies total approximately 1,000,000 square miles. Belgian Congo, also, measures nearly 1,000,000 square miles, and owing to the peculiar international position of this territory

and its great need of large financial subsidies, some international assistance in the matter of development must be extended to Belgium. Then there are the huge areas of Mesopotamia, the New Hebrides Archipelago, British Gambia, and possibly French Dahomey. Several of these countries will change flags, while others will probably see a rectification of their geographical frontiers. The total area of these territories is over 2,000,000 square miles, or ten times the size of the German Empire in Europe. The total colored population is, approximately:

Africa.....	23,960,000
South Pacific.....	160,000
Asia.....	4,000,000

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Total ..... 28,120,000

These territories and these peoples will find themselves, so to speak, thrown

down on the Congress table for a reshuffle, but can it be argued in justice that any such reshuffle should take place without ascertaining in some way or other the desires of the inhabitants themselves?

Who gave the European nations the right to barter these people as a result of war for which they had no shadow of responsibility? The answer to this question is self-evident. But while in equity there can only be one answer, common sense forces us to admit the impracticability of summoning to a European peace congress illiterate Mandingos, Piots, Herreros, Fans, the senile Polynesian, or the wild Bedouin.

Yet there is one point at least which the European powers should concede to those native races, namely, to agree that within one year of the declaration of peace another European and American International Congress should be held to amend the existing agreements for maintaining the rights, liberties, and welfare of native races.

This course is dictated no less by equity than by the truest interests of the colonizing powers of Europe and America. It must not be overlooked that almost every acre of those 2,000,000 square miles is sparsely populated, and that hardly fifty miles of it is capable of white colonization, except by the aid of an adequate supply of colored labor. If the great powers should make the fatal blunder of reshuffling these territories without at the same time agreeing to consider once again the supreme problem of conserving the native population, they would be almost better advised to surrender such areas once again to the recuperative forces of so-called barbarism, say, to the third and fourth generations, for by that time the indigenous populations might possibly regain their stamina.

The suffering of native peoples and the depopulation of their territories within the last fifty years have demonstrated the evils of white industrialism, and if civilization will heed the lessons this martyrdom would teach it there is yet time to stop that degradation, dis-

integration of tribal life, and the thoughtless exploitation which will ultimately spell economic ruin to the white races no less than to the native tribes. The depopulation figures of the tropical and sub-tropical world are worth a moment's reflection. It is a disturbing thought that the hecatombs of dead, as a result of the great war, will probably not reach, nor anything like reach, the reduction of population, mainly by violent methods, among native peoples since the 1884 American and European Congress at Berlin.

No student of colonial affairs will deny that since 1884 the depopulation of Central Africa alone has exceeded 10,000,000. Herr Dernburg's was one of the first authoritative voices raised against the colossal destruction of African life in German colonies, which he would probably admit exceeded 500,000 in German Southwest Africa, and almost as heavy a proportion in Togoland. In the Pacific Ocean the ghastly experiment of the Franco-British Condominium in the New Hebrides during the same period has been primarily responsible for a reduction of the population from 650,000 to less than 65,000.

What would not Germany have given could she have called back to industrial life the able-bodied Herreros? What would the copra merchants of Europe give today if they could call into activity again those prematurely dead Polynesians of the South Seas? These countless thousands of the world's workers have gone, and it is useless to bemoan the fact; but to the insane folly of the past would be added the crime of today if we ignore the lessons which a thirty years' martyrdom of native races should teach us.

One of the most encouraging features of native labor questions is that the commercial world is not only beginning to realize the importance of conserving native life, but is recognizing that the application of fraud or force upon the labor supply is a ruthless and unerring boomerang.

If one wished to state in general terms the cause of this depopulation and suffering it might be summed up in the

phrase, "too intimate a contact with white social and industrial life," and this general cause falls into four main categories: (a) Labor systems; (b) disease; (c) the unrestricted sale of alcohol; (d) sexual irregularities.

Just as the main cause of depopulation has been a too intimate contact with white industrialism, so has it been established that the screening off of native races from this contact in the early stages of development has led to increased productivity, happiness, and prosperity. Not only prosperity to the native inhabitants, but to white industry outside these areas, for the surplus laboring population freely overflows its borders to the assistance of white enterprise. The

most complete illustration of this is Basutoland, where, within a century, the Basutos have increased from 40,000 to 400,000, while the annual outflow of laboring population is no less than 70,000 men, who assist the white man in garnering the wealth of South Africa.

The time has surely come when the white colonizing nations should agree to set aside an area in each colony or protectorate for the exclusive use of the native inhabitants.

The just claims of the child races of the world must be considered once again by a European and American Congress on Native Affairs, and peace terms must at least include a definite pledge to such congress.

## Significance of the Word "Poilu"

By Maurice Barrès

*Member of the French Academy*

The word "poilu," meaning bristly, woolly, hairy, as applied to animals, has come into jocular and even serious use throughout France to designate the more or less unshorn French heroes in the trenches. An interesting comment on it from an eminent pen is here translated for *CURRENT HISTORY*.

**P**OILU is a word that only half pleases. It pleases because it designates those whom all France loves and admires, but it seems not to respect them enough; it has a touch of the animal. Besides, the word was not born of this war. It has long been in use in and around French barracks. It was one of those thousands of words that live a precarious life in the margins of dictionaries. Littré writes: "Poileux, an old term of contempt." It was Balzac (the discovery is not mine) who, in 1832, in "The Country Doctor," rehabilitated these two syllables, and, for the first time, seems to have given them the generous, vigorous, and cordial sense that we see in them today. He used the word once, then let it drop and thought of it no more.

It lacks dignity. To my taste it belittles those whom it is meant to laud and serve. A hero can hardly be expressed by this brazen-faced and slanderous epithet. And yet, since it has taken root in

our battlefields now for more than a year, one hesitates to speak ill of this word, in which so many admirable acts are somehow visible. It is winning its historic titles. At certain moments when we meet it we are compelled to admire it. When the time comes to complete the article in Littré devoted to Poileux or Poilu, and to add to the old injurious sense the new meaning of today, the lexicographer will have superb texts to cite by way of example.

Here is one so beautiful that I cannot resist the impulse to pass it along. Listen to this order of the day addressed by a commander to his infantrymen. A Lorraine soldier gave it to me, and you will see in it how the word "poilu" may yet become one of the most beautiful in the French language:

"For the third time since the beginning of the campaign the —th Battalion has just covered itself with glory. Though harassed by the fatigue of six consecutive days and nights of sentry

duty, labor, and fighting, though a trifle weakened in your confidence by the check suffered in the first attack, you promptly got hold of yourselves upon discovering suddenly a good course to follow in order to avoid the flank fire of the machine guns, and especially by following step by step, shot by shot, the efficient preparatory bombardment of our artillery. Suddenly sure of success, you rushed forth together out of the trenches at the signal of your commander, behind your officers and section chiefs, leaped like lions, and in less than four seconds reached the enemy trench and swooped into it like an eagle on its prey; but the Barbarians, frightened by the vigor and suddenness of your attack, fled aghast without trying to make the least resistance. As at Saint-Leon, as at Lille, you proved that you were at all times a picked troop capable still of furnishing, after ten months of ceaseless and terrible war, a resistless attack worthy of

your ancestors, the heroes of Sidi-Brahim and Sebastopol, but especially capable of conquering the stubborn resistance of the detested Boche and hurling him "heels over head." With Poilus like you, my dear friends, victory is near and certain."

There can be no doubt that here the word "poilu" is magnificent in its weight, its freedom, and compels us to admire its savage nudity. Presented in such a sweep of thought, it is full of force and honor. It is true, bold, and creates an image; it is a soldier of Géricault, and one would be petty, indeed, to take offense at it.

How are words born? Spontaneously, by sheer genius. This one is admirable in its picturesqueness, but that is all. Its fault is that it paints only the outside of such a being as the soldier of 1916, in whom we venerate a sublime morality and the highest spirit of sacrifice.

## Prince von Bülow Foresees an Era of Hatred and Vindictiveness

*German and English newspapers have given much space to the preface of Prince von Bülow's book, "Deutsche Politik," in which he says that "Hass und Rachegefühl" will influence international relations for many years to come, and that Germany must protect itself from this hatred. He continues:*

This war is a national war not only for us Germans; it has become one also for the English, the French, and the Russians, and national hate once kindled and sealed with blood will remain alive until it is replaced by a national passion directed otherwise.

The only means of protection in future against the enmity and against the renewed and the new lust for revenge in the west, in the east, and on the other side of the North Sea on which Germany can rely is her own augmented strength. Our opponents also will strengthen their armament on land and on the sea; we, however, must make ourselves stronger on our frontiers and on our coast, and make ourselves more unassailable than we were at the beginning of this war. We must do this, not, as our enemies allege, because we are striving for world supremacy, but in order that we may hold our own.

The outcome of this war must not be a negative one for us, it must be a positive one. It is not enough that we are not crushed, not reduced in size, or dismembered, and not despoiled; we must have a plus, in the form of real securities and guarantees as indemnification for unheard-of exertions and sufferings and as pledges for the future. In view of the feelings against us that this war will leave behind it a mere re-establishment of the status quo ante bellum would not be a gain for Germany, but a loss. We shall be able to say with a good conscience that our whole situation has been improved by the war only if the resulting strengthening of our political, economic, and military position considerably outweighs the animosity kindled by the war.



# HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

## An Episode in No Man's Land

By Pierre Loti

*Captain in the French Navy and Famous Academician*

THIS is the first time that I have found myself so absolutely and infinitely alone, in the midst of this stage setting of immense desolation, which to-day, as it chances, is sparkling with light, and is only the more mournful for that. Until I reach the little wood to which an errand of duty calls me I need think of nothing; I need not occupy myself with anything; I need not avoid the shells, which would not give me time to avoid them, nor even choose the spot to set my foot down, since it sinks in everywhere equally. And so it comes that I drift back again to the mood of former days, to my mood of mind before the war, and all these things to which I have grown used I see and judge as though they were new.

Only a score of months ago who would have imagined such a face of things? Thus, these countless excavations—white, because the soil of this region is white—excavations that stretch on all sides and which mark across the wilderness multitudes of zebra-tracings—is it possible that they mark out the only paths along which our soldiers of France can move today with a sort of half security? \* \* \* Little sunken ways, some of them full of curves, some of them straight, which have been named "guts," and which we have had to multiply, to multiply to such a point that the earth is furrowed by them to infinity! What an enormous sum of toil they represent, these mole paths, lying in a network over hundreds of leagues! If we add the trenches, the shelter caves, all these catacombs that plunge down into the hearts of the hills, one's mind stops dead before such a total of excavation, that might seem the work of centuries.

And these things that look like fishing nets stretched on all sides. If one were not informed in advance and ac-

customed to them, could one divine what they can possibly be? You might think that gigantic spiders had been spinning their webs among these myriads of posts, sometimes planted in straight lines, sometimes forming circles or half moons, tracing across the wide expanse designs that must be cabalistic in order better to ensnare and envelop the Barbarians. And besides they have terribly reinforced them, multiplying them twice, nay, ten times, since my last passage, these stake nets, and our web-spinning soldiers have had to make among them turnings and passages, with the enormous reels of barbed wire which they carry under their arms.

But there is one thing that you can understand at the first glance, and which adds to the grim horror of the whole scene, and that is the inclosures sprinkled here and there, the wooden fences that shut in closely packed groups of poor little burial crosses, made of two pieces of wood. That you can tell at once, alas! and see exactly what it is! Here they lie, therefore, under the thunder of the big guns, as though the battle was not yet finished for them, our dear departed ones, our unknown, magnificent heroes—whom even those who weep for them cannot now come nigh, because death is passing ceaselessly in the air above their silent little gatherings.

Ah! To complete the unreality of it all, here comes a black bird of gigantic wing-stretch, a monster of the apocalypse, that flits past noisily high above me. He flies on toward France, seeking doubtless the more sheltered region where women and children begin to be found, with the hope of slaughtering some of them.

I walk on, if one call it walking, this wearisome and inexorable process of plunging through the mud. And finally

I arrive at the little grove of trees where we are to meet. I am glad of it, for my helmet and cloak had become a heavy burden under this unexpectedly burning sun. It happens that I am the first to arrive; the officer whom I have summoned—to discuss new defense works, new lines of stake nets, new burrows—is without doubt that blue outline making its way hither, but he is still distant, and I have still a few moments to continue my meditation of the way hither before it is time to become once more concentrated and exact. It is clear that the place is not left entirely alone, for these poor, half-stripped branches offer no more resistance than mere sheets of paper to the huge humming beetles that pass through them from time to time; but all the same a little wood like this keeps you company, shuts you in, spreads something of illusion about you.

I am on a bit of rising ground, from which I look down on all the terrible landscape, the succession of monotonous hillocks zebra-streaked by whitish "guts," and the few trees disheveled by shrapnel bullets. In the further distances these intertwined wires, stretched in all directions, sparkle in the sun, somewhat like "the Virgin's threads," which spread over the meadows in Spring. And on all sides the detonations of artillery keep up their accustomed rumble, which goes on unceasingly here, night and day, like the roar of the ocean against the cliffs.

Ah! the huge bird has found some one to speak to in the air! I see it all at once assailed by a host of those little tufts of white cotton—bursting shrapnel—which look so innocent, but which are so perilous for birds of its breed. It turns about hastily; its crimes are put off for another time.

From behind a nearby rising ground come forth a group of men in blue, who will reach me before the officer who is coming over there. It is the chance one, the one among thousands of these little processions which one meets incessantly, alas! along the battle front, and which form, so to speak, part of the stage setting. At its head four soldiers are carrying a stretcher, and others are following, to relieve them. Attracted also by

the illusory protection of the branches, they stop instinctively at the entrance of the little wood to take breath and change shoulders. They come from the first-line trenches, which are three or four kilometers away, and are carrying a "gravely wounded" man to an underground hospital, which is some quarter of an hour away. They also had not foreseen this vicious sun that scorches one's head; they are wearing their helmets and cloaks, and they feel the weight of them as much as that of the precious load which they take such pains to carry steadily; more, they drag along, on each foot, a thick shell of sticky mud which gives them feet like elephants, and the sweat runs in big drops over their fine, tired faces.

"What is the matter with your wounded man?" I ask in a low voice.

In still lower voices they answer me: "He is ripped up the belly—oh! the trench surgeon told us that \* \* \*." They finish the sentence only with a shake of the head, but I understand. For the rest, he has not stirred. His poor hand remains pressed to his brow and his eyes, doubtless to protect them against the baking sun, and I ask: "Why did you not cover his face?" "We did put a handkerchief over it, Colonel, but he took it away; he said he would rather have it like that, so that he can still see something between his fingers."

Ah! but the two last men, besides sweat, have broad smears of blood across their faces and running down their necks. "Oh, nothing much the matter with us, Colonel!" they tell me; "we got that as we came along. We started to carry him along the 'guts,' but it shook him too much; so we came on outside in the open." Poor, admirable dreamer! To save their wounded man from jolting they have risked all their lives! Two or three of these huge death beetles which ceaselessly hum past have smashed themselves near them against the stones and have sprinkled them with their fragments; the Germans do not take the trouble to shoot at a single passerby like myself, but a group, and especially a litter, is irresistible for them. Of the two who are streaming with blood, one is, perhaps,

not much the worse, but the other has an ear torn off, and hanging only by a shred of skin.

"You must get your wound dressed by the surgeon immediately, my friend," I say to him.

"Yes, Colonel, we are on our way there to the hospital. It suits exactly."

That is the only thing that has occurred to him to say in complaint: "It suits exactly." And he says it with such a fine, quiet smile, while thanking me for taking an interest in him.

I hesitate to go closer to look at their gravely wounded man, who has remained without stirring, for fear I might disturb his last thoughts. I do go close to him, however, very gently, because they are going to carry him away.

Ah! He is a mere lad! A village boy; one can guess that at once by his bronzed cheeks, which have just begun to grow pale. The sun, as he wishes, floods his handsome 20-year-old face, which is at the same time vigorous and candid, and his hand is still held like a guard

before his eyes, which are set and seem no longer to perceive anything. They must have given him morphine to keep him from suffering too much. Humble child of our countryside, brief little life, what is he dreaming of, if he is still dreaming? Perhaps of his kerchiefed mamma, who wept happy tears every time she recognized his childish writing on an envelope from the front? Or is he dreaming of the farm garden that held his earliest years?

I see on his breast the handkerchief with which they tried to cover his face; it is of fine linen, embroidered with a Marquis's coronet—the coronet of one of his bearers. He had wanted "to go on seeing things," doubtless in his terror of the great night. But even this sun, which must dazzle him, will soon cease suddenly to be recognizable for him; to begin with, it will be the half-darkness of the hospital, and, immediately afterward, will begin for him the long inexorable night, in which no sun will ever dawn again.

## The Heart of a Soldier

[The subjoined letter was written by Giosue Borsi to his mother, to be delivered only in case of his death. He died while leading his company to an assault on the Isonzo. The writer was a poet of reputation in his country, and the letter reveals his high literary attainments. The letter was shown by the mother to an Italian Senator, who recognized its unusual literary quality and a copy was sent to his friend in America, the Rev. Paschale Maltese, rector of a Catholic church at Van Nest, the Bronx, New York, by whom it was translated into English and communicated to CURRENT HISTORY. Giosue Carducci, the winner of the Noble Prize for poetry, stood as godfather of the infant Borsi at his baptism, hence his name Giosue; his poetry gave high promise of winning him also international fame].

**M**OTHER: This letter, which you will receive only in case that I should fall in this battle, I am writing in an advanced trench, where I have been since last night, with my soldiers, in expectation of the order to cross the river and move to the attack.

I am calm, perfectly serene, and firmly resolved to do my duty in full and to the last, like a brave and good soldier, confident to the utmost of our final un-failing victory; although I am not equally sure that I will live to see it. But this uncertainty does not trouble me in the least, nor has it any terror for me. I am happy in offering my life to my country; I am proud to spend it for so noble a

purpose, and I know not how to thank Divine Providence for the opportunity—which I deem an honor—afforded me, on this fulgent autumnal day, in the midst of this enchanting valley of our Julian Venetia, while I am in the prime of life, in the fulness of my physical and mental powers, to fight in this holy war for liberty and justice. All is propitious to me, all is favorable to die a beautiful and glorious death; the weather, the place, the season, the opportunity, the age. A better end could not have crowned my life, and I feel the pleasure to have made a good and generous use of it. Do not grieve over my death, mother, or else you will offend my good fortune. Do not

weep, mother, for it was written in Heaven that I should die. Do not mourn, mother, or else you would regret my happiness. I am not to be mourned but envied.

#### THE SACRIFICE

You know the ineffable hopes that give me comfort because they are the very same hopes in which you also have placed all that is dear to you. When you shall read these words of mine, I will be free, unfettered and in a safe place, quite far from the miseries of this world. My struggle will be finished and I shall be peaceful; my daily death shall have come to an end, and I shall have reached the place on high, to the life without end. I shall be face to face with the Judge whom I have greatly feared, with the Lord whom I have greatly loved.

Think of it, mother dear, when you shall read these words. I shall view you from Heaven, side by side with our dear ones, with father, with my dear Laura, with Dino, our guardian angel. We shall be in the regions above, all united to celebrate your arrival, to watch over you and over Gino, to prepare for you, with our prayers, the place of your everlasting glory. Should not this thought alone be sufficient to dry your tears and to fill you with unspeakable joy?

No, no, weep not, my dear and saintly mother, and be brave, as you have always been. Should the pleasure of having offered to our adored Italy, this glorious land, this land predestined by God, should the pleasure of having offered the sacrifice of the life of one of your sons be not sufficient for you, remember, nevertheless, that you must not rebel, not even for one instant, against the divinely wise and divinely loving decrees of our Lord. If He wanted to reserve me for other work, He could have permitted me to survive. Since He has called me to Himself, it is a sign that such was the best thing that could have happened and the best thing for me. He knows what He is doing, and it remains for us to bow and to adore, accepting with trustful joy His most exalted will.

#### HOLY BATTLES

I do not bemoan life. I have tasted of all its insane infatuations and have

withdrawn with an insurmountable weariness and disgust.

Like a young prodigal son, after so many wanderings, having returned to the house of the father, I could have hoped now, and reasonably so, to taste of the good joys, the joys of duty well performed, of the good practiced and preached, the joys born of art, of labor, of charity, of a fruitful mind.

Side by side with the good, beautiful girl whom you know and esteem, and whom I have always loved, always so tenderly, timidly, and faithfully loved, even in the midst of my errors and blameworthy blunders, I could have hoped to make a good husband and a good father.

In the world there are so many battles to fight, for love, for justice, for liberty, for the faith, and for a time I must confess, I presumptuously believed myself predestined and assigned to the arduous and terrible task of winning one or another of these battles.

All this was, I admit, beautiful, flattering, desirable, but it cannot compare with my present lot. This is the very truth, and indeed I cannot say whether I would really be satisfied if the writing of this letter would have been in vain. Life is sad; it is a painful and annoying duty, a long exile in the uncertainty of our own lot. In order that life might go quickly in accordance with my wishes, and without leaving me in a thousand disappointments, there would be need of many very rare and difficult occurrences. Besides, I am and I feel weak, I have not the least confidence in myself. The whole battle against the ingratitude and wickedness of the world would not have frightened me as much as the battle against myself. It is better, therefore, dear Mother, as it has happened. The Lord, in His wise and infinite goodness has reserved for me just the destiny that was fit for me; a destiny that is easy, sweet, honorable, rapid; to die in battle for one's country.

With this beautiful and praiseworthy past, fulfilling the most desired of all duties as a good citizen toward the land that gave him birth, I retire in the midst of the tears of all those that loved me, from a life toward which I felt weary

and disgusted. I leave the failings of life, I leave sin, I leave the sad and afflicted spectacle of the small and momentary triumphs of evil over good. I leave to my humble body the weight of all my chains and I fly away, free, free in the end, to the Heavens above, where resides our Father, to the Heavens above where always His holy will is done. Just imagine, dear Mother, with what joy I will receive from His hands even the chastisements that His justice will impose on account of my sins. He, Himself, has paid all these chastisements by His superabundant merits, a God of mercy and of love, redeeming me with His precious blood, living and dying here below for my sake. Only through His grace, only through Jesus Christ, could I have succeeded that my sins be not my eternal death. He has seen the tears of my sorrow, He has pardoned me through the mouth of His spotless spouse, the Church. I do sincerely hope that the Madonna, so loving and kind toward us, will assist me with her powerful help, in the instant when all my eternity will be decided.

#### FORGIVENESS

And as I am about to speak of forgiveness, dear Mother, I have only one thing to say with all simplicity. Forgive me. Forgive me all the sorrows that I have caused you; all the agonies that you have suffered on my account, every time I have been ungrateful, stubborn, forgetful, disobedient toward you. Forgive me, if by neglect and inexperience I have failed to render your life more comfortable and tranquil, since the day when my father by his premature death intrusted you to my care. Now I understand well the many wrongs I have been guilty of toward you and I feel all the remorse and cruel anguish now that dying I have to intrust you to the providence of the Lord. Forgive me lastly, this final sorrow that I have inflicted upon you, perhaps not without stubborn and cruel inconsideration on my part, in giving up my life voluntarily for my country, fascinated by the attractions of this beautiful lot. Forgive me also if I have not sufficiently recognized and tried to compensate the incomparable nobility

of your soul, of your heart, so immense and sublime, Mother truly perfect and exemplary, to whom I owe all that I am and the least good I have done in this world.

#### CHRISITAN COURAGE

I have so many things to say to you that a book could hardly contain them. Nothing else, therefore, is left me but to recommend you to our Gino, on whose goodness, on whose integrity, and on whose strength of will, I put all my trust. Tell him in my name to serve willingly our country, as long as she will have need of him, to serve her with abnegation, with ardor, with enthusiasm, even unto death, should that be necessary. Should he be destined to live a long and struggling life, let him be equal to it with serenity, with firmness, with indomitable love for justice and honesty, trusting always in the triumph of good with God's grace. Let him be a good husband and a good father, let him raise up his children in the love of God, respect for the Church, fidelity toward our King, to the observance of the law, to scrupulous devotion to our beloved country. Think often of us here above, speak of us among yourselves, remember us and love us as when we were alive because we shall be always with you.

Pray often for me, for I am in need of it. Be courageous in the trials of life as you have always been strong and energetic in the midst of the tempest of your earthly career, continue to be humble, pious, charitable, so that the peace of God may always be with you.

#### GOOD-BYE

Good-bye, Mother, Good-bye, Gino, my dear and my beloved. I embrace you with all the ardor of my immense love, which has increased a hundred-fold during my absence in the midst of the dangers and hardships of the war. Here, far away from the world, always with the image of imminent death, I have felt how strong are the ties that bind us to this world, how mankind is in need of mutual love, of faith in each other, of discipline, of harmony, of unity, what necessary and sacred things are the fatherland, the home, the family; how

blameworthy is the person who renounces these, who betrays and oppresses them.

Love and freedom for all, this is the ideal for which it is a pleasure to offer one's life. May God cause our sacrifice

to be fruitful, may He take pity upon mankind, forgive and forget their offenses, and give them peace; then, O dear Mother, we shall not have died in vain. Just one more tender kiss.

## Story of a Russian War Prisoner

### A Remarkable Experience

This very unusual narrative, with its light on Austrian prison conditions, appeared in the *Russkoe Slovo*, Moscow, June 30, 1916. It was written by a petty officer of the Russian Army at the request of the paper's Paris correspondent. The correspondent tells of a party of thirty Russians who had recently arrived in Paris from Italy, all war prisoners from Austria, who had managed at different times to slip through the lines on the Italian front.

I WAS taken prisoner by the Magyars in the Carpathians. We were driven to the station of Kashitzi, where we found more Russians, I don't know how many, and were placed in dirty cars, from which cattle had just been removed. The stench was terrible, the crowd unthinkable. The doors were locked all the time. \* \* \* We traveled two days; on the third we arrived in a camp called Lintz. What did I see in this camp? Filthy barracks, naked bunks on which our soldiers were scattered, pale, exhausted, hungry, nearly all barefoot or in wooden clogs. Many were suffering from inflamed feet and exhaustion. I don't know how they call it in medicine, but to my mind it was the fever of starvation. One gets yellow, trembles incessantly, longs for food. \* \* \*

The prisoners were fed very poorly, mainly with turnips, beans, and peas.

Once a soldier decided to complain to Francis Joseph or Wilhelm. He went up to an electric pole, formed his fingers so that it looked as if he were speaking into a telephone horn, and shouted, "Hello, Germans, give us some more bread!" He called and knocked with his fists for some time, but, of course, received no reply. Many soldiers made fun of him at first, but others began to look for a way to complain against such treatment of war prisoners. Meanwhile the bread became poorer and poorer in quality and less in quantity. The meals consisted of beans, and in addition there were bugs in the beans. We got meat

three times a week, the other days we got herring.

On the 24th of May, 1915, a company was recruited among us to be sent away to do some "agricultural" work. The soldiers would not believe it, claiming that peace was near. I was in the first contingent. Our train was passing between mountains covered with evergreen. Every now and then it would shoot through tunnels. This surprised me greatly. I understood that we were not going in the direction of Russia. And so it was. We finally arrived in a place, where the thousand of us were quartered in one building. We at once began to be treated differently, much more insolently and severely. On the 27th we were driven to the fields to work. We wondered what the agricultural labor we were to do could be. We were supplied with shovels and pick-axes, led to a wood on a hill some 1,600 meters high, mustered into rows, and ordered to dig a ditch—that is what the Germans called it—but we called it otherwise. It became clear that we were to dig trenches.

The first day passed in idleness and grumbling. All unanimously refused to work, even if we had to pay with our lives for it.

We waited for the following morning. The guards came to take us out to work, but we said that we would not dig trenches. Then the Colonel came and asked in Russian: "Why don't you want to work?" We all answered: "This work is against the law. You are violat-

ing the European laws and breaking all agreements by forcing us to construct defensive lines for you." The Colonel said: "Look out, don't resist, or we will shoot every one of you. We don't care now for the laws to which you point us. All Europe is at war now—this is no time for laws. If you don't go to work, I will have you shot."

We all exclaimed: "We won't. Shoot us, but we will not do the work."

All of the 28th we were in our yard. No food was given us. Thus we were held for three days without food. On the fourth day a company of cadets arrived. Leading them was the executioner, with stripes on his sleeves. They loaded their rifles, holding them ready. Then the Colonel asked: "Who will go to work?" The crowd answered "No!" The Colonel said: "I am sorry for you, boys, you don't understand that you are resisting in vain." Suddenly the crowd was split into two. Those who agreed to work were given dinner and put to work. The other half, in which I was included, was led away to another yard. From among us ten were picked out and taken away—we knew not where. We were ordered to lie on the ground with our faces downward, and not to turn our heads.

On June 2 there remained only fifty men who still refused to work, suffering hunger for the sixth day. The ten soldiers who were daily taken away from us were subjected to, besides hunger, suspense in the air from rings, with their hands tied to their backs. In about thirty minutes one would lose consciousness, and then he would be taken down to the ground. After he recovered his senses he would be asked if he agreed to work. What could one answer? To say "I refuse" meant another ordeal. He would begin to cry and agree to work.

The following day our heroes were led out into the open, ten were selected from our midst, arranged in a line facing the rest of us, and told that they would be shot immediately. Of the remainder half were to be shot in the evening, the other half the following morning. Their graves had been dug by the ten heroes themselves. I have not the slightest hesitancy in calling them so.

Then a space was cleared, and Ivan Tistchenko, Feodor Lupin, Ivan Katayev, and Philip Kulikov were ordered forward. The first was Ivan Tistchenko. An officer and four cadets approached him. The officer asked him if he would agree to work. He answered "No," and crossed himself. His eyes were bound with a white kerchief, and these pitiless and unjust cadets fired at the order of the officer. Two bullets pierced his head and two his breast, and the brave fellow fell to the wet ground noiselessly and peacefully.

In the same manner the second, third, and fourth were treated. When the fifth was led forward he also refused to work, and they already had his eyes bound. But some one in the crowd exclaimed: "Halt—don't fire!" And the comrades asked for his life, all agreeing to go to work. And I never learned the identity of the chap who saved that fellow's life and many other lives.

We remained in that camp for two and a half months. Then we were removed closer to the front, to a locality inhabited by Italians. Our soldiers there would inquire from the Italian laborers, to whom the guards paid no attention, where the boundary lay. We learned the direction and the distance to the boundary, which was about thirty miles. It was even nearer to the Italian front. And so on Sept. 29 a comrade and I decided to escape.

(Some particulars of the escape have been deleted by the Russian censor.)

Toward dawn we emerged from the thick of the pine trees and bushes, and descended to the base of the mountain. At our feet was a stream, about fifty feet wide, rapid, and full of rocks. Here we made good use of our training in gymnastics. My comrade, a tall fellow, was light on his feet. He jumped like a squirrel from rock to rock. To me it seemed that I would slip and be swept away by the current. My comrade was already on the opposite shore when I, making my last jump, failed to gain the beach. Fortunately he was quick to stretch out to me his long stick, and drew me out of the water as wet as a lobster.

We walked along the stream all day

without encountering anybody. At the end of the day we came in sight of a tiny village, but there were no people nor soldiers to be seen. Only near one house smoke was rising. We decided to approach stealthily and investigate. We saw an old woman at the fire, bending over a kettle of sweet corn. We surmised that the inhabitants of the village must have deserted it because of its proximity to the front, while the old woman refused to abandon her home.

We approached her and confessed that we were Russian soldiers. She thought long. What "Russian" meant she did not know, but she understood the meaning of the word "soldiers." She presented us with some of her sweet corn and pointed out the way to the Italian front.

It was six in the evening when we came upon an advanced Italian post. The sentinel stopped us with a "Halt!" He was pointing his rifle at us, showing that he would shoot if we advanced. He called for his superior. We were searched and taken into their quarters. An officer soon came in. Through an interpreter he asked us for our names, regiments, and army branches. He gave each of us a package of cigarettes.

Only then I understood that we were received as guests. When the officer gave us the cigarettes, saying "Bravo, Russi!" the soldiers began showering us with cigarettes, chocolate, and confetti. One soldier guessed better than the rest; he brought us a dish of soup, meat, and a bottle of wine. After this there was a regular wedding feast. Each of the soldiers brought something to eat, cheese, butter, sardines. We, knowing our condition, abstained from eating too much. Thinking that on the following day we would have to suffer hunger again, we put all the presents into a bag presented

us by one of the Italians. Thus we accumulated about fifteen pounds of bread, cheese, butter, chocolate, lard, and boiled beef. Then the Italians noticed that our clothes were wet, and began presenting us with underwear and clothing, so that we soon changed our appearance. We were anxious to converse with them. The interpreter, who spoke Russian imperfectly, had a great deal of work. Just the same, I will never in my life forget his first words in Russian, as he asked us, by order of the officer: "Who are you—brothers?" In tears we answered him that we were Russian officers escaped from captivity; he asked it so kindly, and we were infinitely gladdened by his sweet words.

The following day we were taken to the corps headquarters. Officers would come in, shake hands—some even kissed us, which embarrassed us. Unwittingly tears would come to our eyes when we recalled our life in the prison camp and this sudden change for the better.

The General also visited us. He pressed our hands, gave each of us a package of cigarettes, and presented us with 10 lire in gold. We wanted to decline the money, but the interpreter said, "Take," and we did.

We lived for about a month in Italy. What a noble people!—soldiers, civilians, and officers. It is impossible to describe! At every station, (on the way to France,) the public would surround us, all anxious to do us some favors, all showing their deep affection for the Russians. Once a Sister of Mercy was distributing coffee to our party as the train began to move. She ran along till the train gained full speed, desiring not to leave some of us without coffee. Our soldiers would wonder at the affection of the entire Italian people for the Russians, and would shout incessantly: "Viva Italia! Viva Italia!"



## German Flame Throwers in Action

By an Eyewitness

*A French correspondent on the Somme front obtained this glimpse of one of the most thoroughly "modern" horrors of war from an injured soldier in a first-aid station near the advanced trenches:*

**I**T was decided to withdraw us to a better position some fifty yards in the rear. Then the Captain called for some one to stay behind to watch and signal the enemy's movements. That's my regular job, so I fixed myself about fifteen feet up in a cleft of a big tree and seized a telephone which was connected with the nearest battery. From there I could see a German trench at the edge of a little wood about eighty yards from the trench my comrades had vacated.

For nearly an hour nothing happened. Occasionally I noticed heads peering from the Boche trench trying to see into the empty trench which was hidden from them by a slight swelling of the ground just before it. They would have been a splendid mark for a sniper, but I had other work this time. Suddenly a group of about forty Boches crept forward from the wood, rapidly followed by the best part of a company. I telephoned: "Enemy advancing, led by a detachment of 'flamenwerfer,'" for I had recognized the devilish apparatus carried by the foremost group. When the latter were about thirty feet from the empty trench they halted in a hollow just below the rise in the ground, and then, with ap-

palling suddenness, a dozen jets of white and yellow flames darted up to fall plumb into the trench. The dense smoke hid the rest of the Germans, and almost choked me, but, thanks to my mask, I was able to gasp information to the battery.

It was then I had a glimpse of what hell must be like. Our gunners had the range to an inch, and a torrent of shells burst right among the fire-throwers. Great sheets of flame sprang up, one jet from an exploding container just grazing me, burning my clothes and scorching my ribs rather badly. But it was impossible to escape. The ground was a sea of fire. In the midst of it the Germans, like living torches, were dying horribly. One man spun around like a top, not even trying to run away until he fell in a pool of flame. Others rolled on the ground, but the blazing liquid ran around them everywhere, and I could smell the horrible odor of burning flesh.

I don't think any fire-throwers escaped. Their screams, heard despite the cannonade and rifle fire, seemed to continue terribly long. The company behind them appeared panicstricken. As the smoke lifted I saw them running back to the wood, and our mitrailleuses did severe execution. I was nearly fainting with the fumes and pain from my burns. The Captain sent a patrol, which found me hanging limply in the tree fork. They had trouble getting me, but luckily the Germans were too staggered to interfere.

## The Gas Attack

By Eugene Szatmari

*Lieutenant in the Austrian Army*

This description of a battle between Austrians and Russians, in which gas played a leading part, was written by an Austrian officer on the southeastern front.

**T**HE night is starlight, not pitch dark, as in the dreary month of January, but of a strange, weird, dark blue, and the shadows are long, scattered, and charming. This lukewarm night is rest-

less. Bright flashes from field rockets rip the dark blue velvet curtain asunder, and hardly has the glare died away, hardly have quiet, invisible caterpillars sewed the curtain together again, when

the shining finger of a searchlight begins to feel its way through the blue night. Rifles crack and cannon roar at us from the east. Since an early hour in the morning the guns have been thundering toward us from the north, and the lazy rattle of the distant drumfire penetrates with difficulty through the trees of the shot-torn forest. Now they have begun here, too. Heavy shells crash through the trees with deafening roars, severed branches fall slowly, but noisily, rifle bullets come whistling along and rattle through the leaves. My ten telephones hum and sing like mad. But my batteries are silent. We do not waste our shots in the air.

Now a rocket goes up. It goes high, very high, and sends down its colored stars in a crackling rain of fire. There is another, and still a third—and the cannon fire becomes still heavier, the shrapnel crashes like mad, and shell after shell whizzes toward us in a howling arch, to burst as it falls. We know what all this means, the sign that has just been made; short and sharp comes the message hissed over the telephone: "A gas attack!"

On comes the poison wave—we are armed for it. Gas masks to the front! In the twinkling of an eye we have transformed ourselves into masked robbers and are waiting in curiosity, braced for the battle with the unknown weapon, against the invisible, creeping, and, up to now, to us unknown enemy. What is it like, this gas?—and we await the coming wave almost with longing. Is it really coming after all?

It is coming. Something creeps into my eyes and I buckle my mask on again. So it is here, then, the sneaking enemy, the poison wave that we cannot destroy, the opponent wearing the cap of invisibility. Now it sweeps over us, overwhelms us; we are in its power, and our lives are dependent upon the potash tube that gives us air. We stand in the midst of its infected air, and its dragonlike breath toys with our clothing. What a frightful yet miserable enemy! The guns continue to roar in its neighborhood, and the charging enemy's cries of, "Hurri, hurri!" are smothered in the furious rattle of the

machine guns. They don't need any masks, nor do the cannon that are now spewing death in a hundred forms upon the enemy from the hidden depths of the forest, barking and howling like ever-faithful iron dogs. They are armed against the gas, for they need no air; and they stretch their bronze bodies out in the mad fire as they run back and forth on their carriages. What a mean weapon, what a wretched enemy is this invisible opponent!

I feel a strange weight on my chest. The air I am breathing is heavy and oppressive; I have to swallow at every breath I draw. The mask lies on my head like lead, and its big glass peep-holes make my eyes ache indescribably. I feel as if I stood in a leaden diving suit at the bottom of the sea, with the weight of the whole ocean upon me. Air! I must have air, and I loosen the straps of my mask, but a terrible shooting pain grips my temples, and instinctively I haul them tight again. With the telephone in my hand, with the leaden weight of the mask on my head, half unconscious, I shout orders into the instrument. The great glass eyes with which I am now looking bore dully into the roaring, rattling, flashing, glaringly convulsive night, the night that only an hour before was a quiet blue velvet curtain and that now has become a mad monster, spitting poison and death. I try to go to the telescope, and I step on something soft. I bend down. It is a dead mouse. It didn't have any mask. What a fearful opponent, this sneaking, invisible enemy!

I can stand it no longer. My temples thump like mad and I feel my blood course wildly through my veins. I tear apart the straps of the mask—and take a breath of pure, fresh, good air! There is a light breeze from the south. It has blown away the poisonous waves. The battle dies down; the rattle of shots begins to become weaker and the cannon are steadily becoming quieter. The flashing lights that pierced the night are extinguished. It becomes calmer. I breathe, breathe deeper, while once more the dark blue velvet curtain of the night slowly and softly settles down over us.

# My Worst Experience

By a Man Who Stopped a Bullet

The writer of this vivid narrative, a British soldier, was wounded in Mesopotamia during an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Kut-el-Amara, shortly before its fall.

I SLIPPED my left hand into my tunic and was surprised to feel the hot blood pouring out. Then it dawned on me that I had been hit, and pretty badly, too. My equipment was hurting me, so I took it off.

I felt very dizzy, and decided to try and get back as far as I could. I stood up, a very unwise thing to do, considering that I was about 150 yards from the Turkish trench and must have made an easy mark, but I was not hit again immediately. My legs gave way and I collapsed and lay flat for a time. I thought if I was not to bleed to death I must make an effort to put my field bandage in place. So with difficulty I pulled it from my tunic pocket. The outer covering came off easily, and I took out one of the packets, but could see no way to slit it open. Finally I gripped the edge of the packet in my teeth and tore at it with both hands till it opened. I put the pad on the wound, as near as I could, but had no means of keeping it there, so I staggered to my feet and ran on, keeping the pad in place with my left hand. I believe I covered another fifty yards when I dropped again and lay in a kind of stupor.

I was aroused by the almost continuous "krock" of bursting shrapnel. Shells were dropping right and left, and the air was full of moaning and screaming as the bullets flew by. I managed to get on my feet again, although the effort made the blood spurt out anew. The sodden pad had slipped down and a burning pain in the pit of my stomach caused me to double up in agony and slide on to my knees. I started crawling painfully along until I came to a small mound which would at least afford "head over." I crept behind it and lay in the only position I could, on my left side.

I passed my hand over myself to feel for a wound, but could not find one. The bullet had entered the small of my back

and lodged under my breast bone. Gradually the more intense pain passed away, leaving a not unpleasant sense of numbness over all my body.

The persistent calling of a man in pain brought me back to consciousness. The pitiless sun was blazing high in the heavens, and I felt hot and dry. Somebody was shouting "Fetch the stretcher-bearers, you fools; are you going to leave me here?" At first I felt very sorry for him, but soon wished he would stop, for I had a shocking headache. I judged it to be about midday, and thought that in another six hours I had a good chance of being brought in.

I was horrified to see that the water of the Suwaicha Marsh, which was on our right flank, had risen considerably, and I feared for any of our wounded who were further out on the right and unable to crawl away from the menace. The man who was shouting stopped, and everything was strangely calm and peaceful. I felt very happy and contented then, for as long as I kept quite still the pain was very dull, so I began singing and mumbling away in a quiet voice:

Where my caravan has rested

Flowers I'll strew thee on the grass.

I sang again and again, accompanied by a strange roaring in my chest. My caravan, I thought, had rested in some very unusual places, but none so unusual as this. And what was the use of talking about the grass in the desert of Mesopotamia, where there is nothing but the yellow earth, the blue sky, the hot sun, and dirty water?

There was a water bottle, equipment, and rifle lying close to my head, and I have a vague remembrance of a Sikh lying beside me for a time and then jumping up and running back. I slowly put my right arm up, caught the sling, and dragged the bottle nearer. I pulled the cork out somehow, and propped the

bottle against my face, with the neck to my lips, but was much upset to find I had not the strength to lift it up. Tears rolled down my cheeks after I had made two or three attempts, for I was very thirsty. I sang no more, as my throat was harsh and lumpy. So I lay staring at the yellow and blue till I lost consciousness once more.

This time I was roused by our own guns, and the sound was most comforting. "Giving 'em hell," I thought gleefully. They bombarded for about an hour, and then I slipped back into unconsciousness. It was getting dark when I came to again. A man was standing close to me, staring round the field. Somebody had put my sun helmet on my head. He came over to me. "Are the stretcher-bearers coming?" I asked, and he told me I was the next to be moved. It was not long before the bearers came, and they put the stretcher behind me. It was painful work getting on the stretcher, as I could not bear to have my body touched anywhere. However, it was managed at last, and I lay on my left side.

I suppose they went as gently as they could, but every step racked my body so much that I was nearly mad with pain. I cannot remember how far it was to the dressing station, but I remember passing through the artillery lines, where the guns had started again. I was put on a table, still on the stretcher, and was pleased to see our battalion doctor. "Well, laddie," he said, "how are you?" I replied that I was all right, but thought it "a bit thick" having to lie out there all day. Then he started cutting my clothes up, jersey and shirt as well. The dressing was by no means painful, but they left my hand untouched. I asked for something to drink, but the doctor said they would give me all I wanted at the field hospital.

Then began the worst experience I have ever been through. I was taken to a native springless mule cart, with a few sacks and blankets thrown in the bottom, and helped off the stretcher. The slight-

est movement caused great pain, but when the cart started bumping off I was in a positive inferno. I will not dwell on that four-mile journey from the marsh to the riverside; suffice it to say that what little breath I could summon was used in praying the driver to stop and leave me on the ground.

We came to the field hospital at last. The natives pushed a stretcher into the cart beside me, and one intelligent fellow nimbly jumped up and stood on my smashed hand. That was the last straw. I cursed him. When I stopped for want of breath they attempted to lift me on to the stretcher, but I begged them to stop. I tried to get on by myself, but could only manage to get my knees on and could not lift my body. The natives were chattering round the cart, so I started shouting "English, English. Fetch English," and at last a "Jock" came up to see what was wrong. I begged him to put his hand under my shoulder and help me on the stretcher, and in a moment I was lying on my stomach—not very comfortable on account of my labored breathing, but it was a rest for my left side. When my hand had been cleaned and dressed I was put on a mattress in a bell tent, where I tossed about in a high fever.

In the morning I was put in a paddleboat, and I slept till it started in the afternoon. We were taken ashore at Orah that night, and there received better attention. I was placed on the operating table and the bullet located and removed.

I will not describe my stay at Orah or the trip down the Tigris in the paddleboat to Bussorah. My hand was a fearful size and very painful. When the ship was moored in front of Bussorah Hospital I was very weak. Two orderlies helped me on to the stretcher, and I was carried down the gangway to the entrance of the hospital. A Major took particulars and consigned me to a veranda ward on the second floor. And so I was placed in one of the whitest, cleanest, and most comfortable beds in the world.

# A Bayonet Charge in Picardy

By a British Army Captain

A racy bit of battle description, hot from the guns, as spoken by a wounded Captain who led one of the first rushes against the German trenches in the great British drive.

**E**H? Oh, just an ordinary front-line trench, you know; rather chipped about, of course, by the Boche heavies, you know; but—oh, hang it, you know what the ordinary fire trench looks like; along the north side of the Mametz Wood we were. What? Oh, yes, we were packed pretty close, of course, while we were waiting; only got there a little before midnight. My chaps were all in splendid heart, and keen as mustard to get the word "Go!" I was lucky; met my friend —, almost directly we got in.

The weather was jolly then; but there'd been a lot of rain, and the trench was in a beastly state. You know what it's like, after a lot of strafing, when you get heavy rains on the churned-up ground. It was like porridge with syrup over it; and we were all absolutely plastered—hair and mustaches and everything—before we'd been half an hour in the place. The Boche was crumping us pretty heavy all the time, but it didn't really matter, because, for some reason, he didn't seem to have got our range just right, and nearly all his big stuff was landing in front or behind, and giving us very little but the mud of it.

What did worry me a bit was his machine guns. His snipers, too, seemed fairly on the spot, though how the devil they could be, with our artillery as busy as it was, I can't think. But I know several of my sentries were laid out by rifle bullets. I particularly wanted to let the others get a smoke when they could, seeing we'd be there three or four hours; helps to keep 'em steady in the waiting, you know; but we had to be mighty careful about matches, the Boche being no more than a hundred yards off.

Just before 3 I got my position, right in the middle of my company. We were going over at 3:25, you know. The trench was deep there, with a hell of a lot of mud and water; but there was no

set parapet left; just a gradual slope of muck, as though cartloads of it had been dropped from the sky by giants—spilt porridge. I wanted to be first out, if I could—good effect on the men, you know—but I couldn't trust myself in all that muck, so I'd collared a rum-case from —'s dugout, and was nursing the blooming thing, so that when the time came I could plant it in the mud and get a bit of a spring from that. Glad I did, too.

I passed the word along at a quarter past to be ready for my whistle; but it was all you could do to make a fellow hear by shouting in his ear. Our heavies were giving it lip then, I can tell you. I was in a devil of a stew lest some of my chaps should get over too soon. They kept wriggling up and forward in the mud. They were frightfully keen to get moving. I gathered from my Sergeant their one fear was that if we couldn't soon get going our artillery would have left no strafing for us to do. Little they knew their Boche, if they thought that.

I thought I could just make out our artillery lift, about a minute and half before the twenty-five, but I wouldn't swear to it. On the stroke of the twenty-five I got a good jump from my rum-box, and fell head first into a little pool—whizz-bang hole, I suppose; something small. It loosened two of my front teeth pretty much. I'd my whistle in my teeth, you see. But I blew like blazes directly I got my head up. Never made a sound. Whistle full of mud. But it didn't matter a bit. They all saw me take my dive, and a lot were in front of me when I got going. But I overhauled 'em, and got in front.

I believe we must have got nearly fifty yards without a casualty. But it's hard to say. It wasn't light, you know; just a glimmering kind of a grayness. Not easy to spot casualties. The row, of course, was deafening, and we were running like

lamplighters. You remember our practice stunts at home? Short rushes, and taking cover in folds of the ground. "Remember your file of direction, Sir; dress-in' by the right," and all that. Oh, the boys remembered it right enough. But, good Lord, it wasn't much like Salisbury Plain, you know. We were going hell for leather. You think you're going strong, and—Woosh! You've got your face deep in porridge. Fallen in a shell hole. You trip over some blame thing, and you turn a complete somersault, and you're on again, wondering where your second wind is. Lord, you haven't a notion whether you're hit or not.

I felt that smack on my left wrist, along with a dozen other smacks of one sort and another, but I didn't know it was a wound for an hour or more. All you thought about was trying to keep your rifle muzzle up, and I guess the fellows behind must 've thought a bit about not stickin' us with their bayonets more'n they could help. I was shouting —, the local name of the regiment, you know. The boys like it. But my Sergeant, who was close to me, was just yelling, "Down 'em, boys!" and "Stick 'em! Stick 'em!" for all he was worth.

My lot were bound for the second line, you see. My No. 12 Platoon, with thirteen of "D," were to look after cleaning up the Boche first line.

There was no real parapet left in that Boche front line. Their trench was just a sort of gash, a ragged crack in the porridge. Where I was, there was quite a bit of their wire left; but, do you know, one didn't feel it a bit. You can judge a bit from my rags what it was like. We went at it like fellows in a race charge the tape; and it didn't hurt us any more. Only thing that worried us was the porridge and the holes. Your feet sinking down make you feel you're crawling; making no headway. I wish I could have seen a bit better. It was all a muddy blur to me. But I made out a line of faces in the Boche ditch; and I know I gave a devil of a yell as we jumped for those faces. Lost my rifle there.

'Fraid I didn't stick my man, really, because my bayonet struck solid earth. I just smashed my fellow. We went down

into the muck together, and another chap trod on my neck for a moment. Makes you think quick, I tell you. I pulled that chap down on top of my other Boche, and just took one good look to make sure he was a Boche; and then I gave him two rounds from my revolver, with the barrel in his face. I think I killed the under one too, but can't be sure.

Next thing I knew we were scrambling on to the second line. It was in the wire of the second line that I got my knock-out; this shoulder and some splinters in my head. Yes; bomb. I was out of business, then; but as the light grew I could see my chaps having the time of their lives inside that second line. One of 'em hauled me in after a bit, and I got a drink of beer in a big Boche dugout down two separate flights of steps. My hat! That beer was good, though it was German. But, look here, I'm in No. 5 train, that that chap's calling. I must get ashore. Just want to tell you about that dugout of —'s in our own line, you know. It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and we'd got the Bazentin Wood all right then, when my orderly, who never got a scratch, was helping me back, making for our dressing station. We crawled into what had been a trench, and while we were taking a breather I sort of looked around, and made out a bit here and a bend there. Begad, it was the trench we started from.

Seems nothing, but you've no idea how odd it was to me; like dropping into a bit of England after about a century and a half in—in some special kind of hell, you know. Seemed so devilish odd that any mortal thing should be the same anywhere after that day. Not that it was the same, really. My rum case was in splinters, sticking up out of the porridge, and I found my map case there, torn off my belt as we got over at 3:25. "Won't be much left of that dugout," I thought, and I got my orderly to help me along to see. Couldn't find the blessed thing, anyhow. Went backward and forward three or four times. Then I spotted the head of a long trench stick that — had carried, sticking out through soft earth at the back of the trench. The orderly worked that stick about a little,

GENERAL LETCHITSKY



The Brilliant Russian Whose Army Drove the Austrians Out of Bukovina and Is Pushing on Toward the Heart of Galicia.

GENERAL NIVELLE



French Commander in Charge of the Defense of Verdun Since the Promotion of General Petain.

and the earth fell away. It was just loose, dry stuff blown in off the front part of the roof of the dugout, and blocking the little entrance. Came away at a touch, almost, and there was the little hole you got in by. I worried through, somehow. I was really curious to see. If you'll believe me, the inside of that dugout—it looked like a drawing room to me, after the outside, you know—it was just exactly the same as when we'd left it the night before. There was the fine stove we made the café-au-lait on, with a half-empty box of matches balanced on the side of it, and the last empty tin of the coffee stuff we'd used, with the

broken-handed spoon standing up in it, just as I'd left it; and —'s notebook lying open and face down on an air pillow in his bunk—most extraordinarily homey. There I was looking at his notebook, and his hold-all, and poor — dead. Yes, I'd seen his body. And the rats, too; the rats were cavorting around on the felt of the roof, happy as sandboys. They didn't know anything about the Push, I suppose. By the way, we found only dead rats in the Boche trenches. They say it was our gas. I don't know; but there were thousands of dead rats there, and millions of live fleas. Very live they were. I must get. Cheero.

## Lament of the Messiah of Flanders

By Edward Stilgebauer

*German Novelist*

*A powerful indictment of Germany's treatment of Belgium has appeared in the form of a story called "Love's Inferno," written by a German, Edward Stilgebauer, and published in an English translation in London. Both the book and the author are said to be barred out of Germany. We reproduce the passage containing the dying lament of the Belgian hero.*

NURSE Irene was bending over an unconscious man. He seemed scarcely twenty-five years old, and wore the uniform of a Belgian Lieutenant. A bomb had torn away both legs. \* \* \* From the first moment Nurse Irene had seen that suffering face it had aroused her attention. Why did it seem so strangely familiar?

Suddenly she remembered; it was Guido's Head of Christ. \* \* \* This wonderful face took possession of all her senses and thoughts; the Messiah on the battlefield of Flanders!

She suddenly remembered that she had read the name of the most famous man in the whole of Belgium; that she was about to render the last assistance to a man who in spiritual importance was the first poet of his nation. Josua de Kruiz was leader of a school of young poets

who sang the incomparable beauty of Brabant and Flanders. When the invaders fell upon his almost defenseless Fatherland he laid down the lyre to take up the sword, and carried the flag in the forefront of danger. He who once celebrated his country in song offered his blood for her when the treacherous hyena sprang at her unguarded throat.

His delirium had reached a climax; recovery was no longer possible. The poet of Flanders and Brabant was dying. His wandering mind voiced itself in lyrical words; it seemed as though the feelings and thoughts of his whole life were concentrated in these last words; Nurse Irene listened and listened. While the doors of the hospital were thrown open and one wounded man after another was hurried into the waiting vehicles, she hung upon his lips.

Josua de Kruiz was repeating verses. Like the sound of the far-away bells of Vineta drowned in the ocean, his voice chimed on, and to Irene his words seemed to sum up in themselves the fate of Belgium:

"Thou wert strong as a young lion, my country; thy loins were of steel, and thy limbs like the wood of the cedar, and thy claws were hardened in fire.

But in the night came the foe, my country, and destroyed the strength of thy loins; he broke thy claws and made them blunt like the teeth of a saw, which the woodmen hang on a withered branch for rusted iron.

"Blossoms and garlands were thy fields, my country; gems of price thy cities; thy villages were like the roses which the Summer weaves into the green of his festal robe.

"But the foe came, my country; and on thy fields he sprinkled the blood of thy children, so that the verdant meadows became like the purple wine pressed out of the ripened grape; he burned thy cities, that they became black like the ruins of Nineveh and fallen Babel; he beat down thy villages so that no stone remained on another, and they were like a bare bush from which the November wind has stripped the last leaves.

"The bosoms of thy mothers and virgins, my land, were like armed towers; they were full of beauty and sweetness; the mother's breast gave abundance of milk, nourishment, life to thy sucklings.

"But the foe came, my country; he cut off the breasts of thy mothers and maidens, raising them in mockery on the point of his lance. And the sucklings, the hope of thy future, withered away in hunger and thirst and shame.

"Thou hadst churches and palaces, my country. Thy skillful men created a new world on the cloth embroidered with colored thoughts; thy halls were full of the wonders of past centuries.

"But the foe came, my country; and he tore down thy towers, and churches, and thy palaces; he rent the tapestries embroidered with colored thoughts.

"Thou wast robbed of thy manhood, my country; thou hast become emasculated among the lands of the earth. Oh, my country, my tears of blood fall on thee, for I love thee, my country.

"I love thee in the robe of shame that thou wearest; with the crown of thorns on thy head and the ashes on thy locks.

"Doubly and trebly do I love thee, for thy suffering, thy pains, for thy wrongs, which are more grievous than the wrongs of any other land.

"Thou wast small, but thou hast become the greatest among the small; thou art raised to the right hand of the God of our forefathers, to whom thou dost appeal to judge between thee and thy foe, my country.

"How fair thou wast, my country! the bride of my youth and the wife of my silent hope.

"Thy sons and thy daughters walked with the wreath of flowering Spring, the immortal crown of eternal fame on their heads, through the streets of thy cities on the sea.

"Thy ships brought thee garments worked with gold from the coasts of the Orient; pearls and emeralds from the rivers and mountains of Ind; amber and rich unguents from the ends of the East; the procession of thy ships on the seas was like the procession of the three Kings who followed the star. Oh, my country, wast thou not an immortal child, joyous and glad? Laughter-like music rang from thy flower-like bosom, and I heard thy laughter and kept it in my heart.

"Like a girl who adorns herself for the dance on the day of the high festival, thou didst bind on thy brow, radiant in the sunlight, the blue band of the seas, bringing blessing and refreshment.

"To thousands of strangers thou didst offer healing and strength, and they found rest and peace in thy arms.

"Oh, my beloved country, thrice stricken and battered by the treacherous foe. Faithlessness and treason and lies he desired to stamp, like a brand, on thy brow.

"But the crown of thorns which thou bearest and the blood that drips on thy forehead efface the brand.

"The stamp of disgrace marks the brow of thy enemies; they shall go about branded amongst all the nations of this earth for ever.

"'For this shall be their punishment,' says the Lord thy God. 'I will mark them with the mark of Cain, so that they shall be known among all men, and all men shall turn from them. They shall be strangers on the earth wherever they go, and their track shall be avoided and accursed.'"

# Britain's Tribute to Belgium

By Herbert H. Asquith

*Prime Minister*

Belgian exiles in London on July 21 celebrated the eighty-fifth anniversary of their country's independence. A Te Deum was sung at Westminster Cathedral in the morning, and in the afternoon a great gathering filled Albert Hall. The Belgian Minister presided, and, speaking in French, told again the story of the nation's heroism. Despite invasion, massacre, fire, intrigue, and temptation, Belgians had not bowed their heads before the enemy. Once more they repeated the solemn oath of their national hymn, prophetically written by Charles Rogier in 1830, a stanza of which appears below. Such was the occasion on which Mr. Asquith delivered this brief address.

*O Belgique, O mère chérie,  
A toi nos coeurs, à toi nos bras,  
A toi notre sang, O Patrie:  
Nous le jurons, oui, tu vivras!*

IT is eighty-five years today since Prince Leopold ascended the throne of the new kingdom of Belgium, and four months later the neutrality of that kingdom was guaranteed by the Treaty of London, to which Austria and Prussia, with Russia and Great Britain, were parties. For more than eighty years Belgium lived at peace under the aegis of that international guarantee, developing her resources with almost unparalleled industry and ingenuity, and contributing her full share to the common stock of European culture. Two years ago she was subjected to one of those testing ordeals which try and prove the stuff of which nations are made. The peace of Europe was wantonly broken, and Belgium was asked to become the stepping-stone and therefore the accomplice of the aggressor. With a decisiveness and an enthusiasm which blotted out all party differences and fused in a moment the whole nation into perfect unity, she declined the insulting offer and announced that if need be she would support her refusal by force. A more heroic resolve has never been taken by a small State since in the ancient world Athens and Sparta met the challenge of Persia and the East.

The odds at the outset were tremendous, for let it be always remembered, let us never forget, that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was not merely—I might almost say not mainly—a military campaign. The facts have been laid bare

after exhaustive and impartial inquiry, and we now know that the military operations of Germany were deliberately supported by and in some cases subordinated to organized butchery and pillage of the civil population, to carefully planned massacres of men, women, and children, the sacking of industrious towns, the desecration and the wanton destruction of the most precious monuments of the piety and the artistic genius of the past. This infamous story, which takes us back to the spirit and the methods of the Thirty Years' War, will never be blotted from the memory of Belgium or from the escutcheon of Germany.

The Belgian Army resisted inch by inch the advance of overwhelming force with tenacity, with endurance, and with brilliant courage, for which, let me say, the two great western allies owe them an immeasurable debt of gratitude. With its heroic King still at its head, that army, after the lapse of nearly two years, is still in Belgium, and neither the King nor his gallant troops have quailed. They form an important link in the allied lines which hold Germany in check, well found in men and in munitions, and well able to cope with all the latest exigencies of modern war.

But I should like to pass for a moment from the Belgian Army to point out that not less admirable has been the spirit which continues to be shown by the civil population at home. Their patriotism has yielded neither to cajolery nor coercion, though it has been subjected to a full measure of both. As lately as last May—and I want, if I can, to bring this fact home to the knowledge of the whole

civilized world—the German Governor General issued a new decree to give increased stringency to the law against Belgian workmen who refused to work for their oppressors.

There can be no doubt of the object. It is to enable the German invaders to requisition Belgian labor for their own military needs. This new decree imposes heavier penalties on those who refuse, and it contains further the remarkable provision which I am about to read and which I hope will be recorded everywhere—"Instead of having recourse to penal prosecutions, the Governors and military commandants may order that recalcitrant workmen shall be led by force to the places where they are to work." In other words, they are to be treated as slaves. This is the climax of a policy which has already resorted without success to starvation and deportation to subdue the untamable spirit of these brave men who refuse to become accomplices in the spoliation and oppression of their native land.

We here in Great Britain are taking note of these things. We do not mean to forget them; we intend to exact reparation for them; and in the meanwhile the spectacle of the sufferings and sacrifice of these patient and stubborn victims of inhumanity and tyranny is exciting the sympathy not only of the Allies, but of the whole neutral world.

Your Excellency, in the name of the British people I beg to send through you a message on this memorable anniversary. Tell your compatriots that their example has inspired and stimulated the allied nations and armies. Tell them that we are watching their suffering with sympathy and their patience and courage with heartfelt admiration. Tell them finally that when the hour of deliverance comes, and come it will before long, it will be to us here in Great Britain a proud and ennobling memory that we have had our share in restoring to them the freedom and independence to which no nation in the history of the world has ever shown a more indisputable title.

## An Utterance That Caused the Suppression of a Berlin Newspaper

*The article which caused the suppression of the Berlin Tageblatt on Aug. 1 is supposed to be one contributed by Maximilian Harden of Die Zukunft, in which this passage occurred:*

Declarations that this war was an inevitable war, that Germany was forced into it all unprepared and against her will cannot be supported except by extremist partisans. Undoubtedly the conflict could have been avoided had the Government desired to avoid it.

Undoubtedly, too, it would have been avoided had the Reichstag been taken into the confidence of our rulers instead of being presented merely with a recital of actions taken independently of it. Such action was taken in the matter of the proposals for a conference on the Austro-Serbian situation that Sir Edward Grey made. They were rejected before the Reichstag had ever heard them.

The Imperial Chancellor's statement in regard to the regrettable necessity of violating the neutrality of Belgium was also made after the event. There are among us many indeed who maintain that the Reichstag should have been consulted before issuing the declaration of war. If that was impracticable, at least advice should have been taken from men like Prince von Bülow, whose long experience and profound acquaintance with the ways of diplomacy might perhaps have discovered a way to stop the war chariot from dashing us into the abyss.

# The Germans and Science

By Paul Deschanel

*Member of the French Academy and former President of the Chamber of Deputies*

Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the preface of "Les Allemands et la Science," a new volume by Gabriel Petit and Maurice Leudet.

WHEN the learned societies of France replied last year to the manifesto of the German intellectuals, Professor Gabriel Petit and M. Maurice Leudet began an inquiry among our most eminent scholars regarding the part that Germany has played in the development of the sciences. Their conclusion is that Germany is far from possessing the scientific superiority which she attributes to herself.

With certain exceptions the Germans have especially excelled in putting into use discoveries made by others. As Sir William Ramsay has said: "The greatest works of scientific thought are not due to scholars of the Teutonic race; even the precocious applications of science do not come from them."

On Nov. 3, 1914, the Academy of Sciences, associating itself with the protests of the other academies of the Institute of France, expressed itself thus:

"The Academy must recall attention to the fact that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations are the ones that have, in the last three centuries, produced most of the great discoveries in the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences, besides being the authors of the chief inventions of the nineteenth century. We protest, therefore, against the attempt to tie the intellectual future of Europe to the future of German science; against the assertion that the safety of European civilization depends upon the victory of German militarism, the Siamese twin of German Kultur."

Upon this declaration the following pages are a stirring commentary.

In the Teutonic conception, science, history, philosophy, religion, are national forces, like the army, diplomacy, credit. From this point of view science is no longer a universal and human thing, it belongs primarily to the service of the

State. As Germany assumes to dominate the other nations, "German science" ought to be superior to that of other peoples. In the words of Fustel de Coulanges, "the interest of Germany is the ultimate aim of these indefatigable seekers."

For us Frenchmen it is not a matter of minimizing Germany's share, it is a matter of not allowing our own to be taken. France should no longer be a dupe of her own disinterested spirit. To put the case to a test, to perform a labor of justice, and not only of patriotism--this was the object sought to be attained by Messrs. Petit and Leudet. In giving publicity to the words of more than twenty French scientists, including those most highly qualified, it is not only France that they mean to serve, but truth. France has no need of feints and artifices to mark her place.

To appreciate the part played by each nation we must distinguish between invention, genius, and the works that follow discovery: the application of it, or the scholastic, industrial, and commercial organization of the idea, or, again, publicity, propaganda.

It is in application and organization that Germany excels; it is in these that we should profit from her lessons and perfect our methods. But creation belongs above all to France; in the seventeenth century, Descartes and Pascal; in the eighteenth, Lavoisier, and in the nineteenth, Pasteur.

In 1907 M. G. Darboux, permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, drew the following picture of the scientific achievement of France in the first half of the nineteenth century:

"If there should appear some day a man who desires to write the complete history of our society, he will pause with patriotic joy over the period covering the

first half of the nineteenth century. The academy then gathered into its fold along with the scholars created by the slow labors of the monarchy all those who had been brought into prominence by the fruitful agitations of the Revolution and of the empire: Lagrange, Laplace, Monge, Legendre, Cauchy, Poissot, Sturm, in mathematics; Dupin, de Prony, Poncelet, Gambier, Séguier, in mechanics; Messier, Arago, Bouvard, Lalande, Delambre, in astronomy; Buache, Beautemps-Beaupré, de Freycinet, in geography; Biot, Ampère, Fourier, Poisson, Malus, Fresnel, Becquerel, Regnault, in physics; Berthollet, Gay-Lussac, Vauquelin, Dulong, Dumas, Bous-singault, Proust, Chevreul, Thénard, Balard, in chemistry; Haüy, Brongniart, Ramon, in mineralogy; Cuvier, de Jussieu, Lamarck, Mirbel Lacépède, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Milne-Edwards, in natural history; Larrey, Portal, Dupuytren, Pinel, Corvisart, Flourens, Magendie, Pelletain, in medicine and surgery, and as many more who will be a lasting honor to the French name."

In short, at no moment has any other nation presented to the world so many creators. Germany at that time had only one great name to point to—that of Gauss, the mathematician and astronomer of Göttingen. France has never denied that he was the equal of the most illustrious.

The savants cited by M. Darboux have opened up new paths in all domains. Cauchy transformed the methods of mathematical analysis. General Poncelet gave an impetus to geometry whose effects are still felt today. Ampère created electrodynamics and prepared the way for the discovery of telegraphy by electric wires. Fourier, celebrated for his theory of heat, was the true creator of mathematical physics, which came into being through the works of Lagrange and Laplace. Berthollet and Gay-Lussac were, after Lavoisier, the great lawgivers of chemistry. Haüy founded mineralogy. Lamarck, Cuvier, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, from different points of view, laid the foundations of zoological philosophy. From their time the whole world bowed before the superiority of French science.

All nations came to our school. In England, in Germany, men studied our discoveries, applied them, and tried to follow up and perfect them. The circle of scientific studies was broadening every day.

But in France our scientists also found worthy minds to follow up their discoveries. In the domain of mathematics the name of Henri Poincaré shines with especial brilliance. Gabriel Lamé, one of the ablest geometricians, followed up the labors of Fourier; Galois, though he died early, immortalized himself by his theory of groups; Charles Hermite won a place in the first rank of theoretical mathematics and abstruse analysis; Michel Chasles completed the discoveries of Poncelet and published an incomparable history of the progress and development of geometry; Joseph Liouville, a man of encyclopedic mind, will live especially through his theorems regarding the theory of functions; Joseph Bertrand, a precocious inventor, published the finest studies on the calculation of probabilities and on mathematical physics; Ossian Bonnet developed infinitesimal geometry; Georges Halphen, the glorious soldier of 1870, left us a great treatise on elliptical functions and precious original memoirs.

In physics Fresnel created the wave theory of light; Sadi Carnot, whose stroke of genius was developed later by the Germans Robermayer and Clausius, laid the foundations of the doctrine of energy by making known the principle with which physicians have honored his name; Regnault by his memorable experiences furnished engineers as well as theoretical investigators with the most valuable data; Amagat, who died in 1914, continued this work. If Röntgen made himself illustrious by his discovery of the X-rays, what progress does radioactive science not owe to Becquerel, Curie, and their emulators?

Hertz discovered the waves that bear his name, but the directing ideas had been given by an English genius, Maxwell. To Branly and to the Italian Marconi belongs the honor of wireless telegraphy. The first idea of the telephone came from the Frenchman Bourseul.

Foucault, Fizeau, Cornu discovered new methods of measuring the speed of light;

photography is due to Daguerre, photography in colors to Lippmann.

In mechanics it is to Seguin's invention of the tubular boiler that we owe the great development of railways. To Dupuy de Lôme belongs the idea of the armored cruiser. It was Marcel Deprez who first solved the problem of transporting power to distant points. The motor run by explosions is a discovery of our engineers; what the automobile owes to Forest and Levassor is already known.

After the labors of Meusnier and Charles aeronautics long remained an essentially French science. The first dirigibles were made by Dupuy de Lôme and Colonel Renard. In 1852 H. Giffard constructed a gas balloon equipped with a screw and rudder. It was two Frenchmen, Penaud in 1871 and Tatin in 1879, who demonstrated by experience the possibility of mechanical flight. Marey, by studying the flight of birds, and Renard, by his mathematical studies, gave us the theory of aviation. Ader and Santos-Dumont, in advance of the Wright brothers, built rudimentary and imperfect aeroplanes which were yet able to remain some moments in the air. Farman, in 1908, wrote the first page in the golden book of aviation.

If Germany gave the world Bessel, Fraunhofer, and Kirchhoff, the Frenchman Le Verrier, by his discovery of Neptune and his works on celestial mechanics, placed himself in the first rank of modern astronomers. Janssen, who created the spectroscope, should be ranked with the creators of physical astronomy. The renown of General Perrier, who has been called the restorer of French geodesy, is universal. Admiral Mouchez directed the international project of the chart of the heavens. Bouquet de la Grye and d'Abbadie took an important part in observing the two transits of Venus. Tisserand continued the work of Laplace by publishing an admirable treatise on celestial mechanics. The new measure of the arc of Quito was made under the direction of the Academy of Sciences by the officers of our geodetic service. The great works of Henri Poincaré have furnished the latest contri-

butions to the essential theories of mathematical astronomy, to the problem of the three bodies, and to the study of the configuration of celestial bodies.

In geography and navigation the French genius has shone with an incomparable brilliancy. Certain names awaken bright memories: Lesseps, Grandidier, Brazza, Marchand.

In the domain of the physical sciences the part taken by France is no less glorious or fruitful. J. B. Dumas, Laurent, Gerhardt, Adolphe Wurtz discovered the fundamental laws of organic chemistry. The wonderful labors of Berthelot in synthetic chemistry effaced every boundary line between mineral and organic chemistry, establishing that unity which had so long been denied. His studies in thermal chemistry enabled him to penetrate the constitution of explosive substances, the theory of which he restored. He it was who first employed electrical energy in organic chemistry to combine the elements.

Déville gave to industry a new metal, aluminium. To him and his students is due the beautiful and fruitful theory of dissociation, which has become the first chapter in physical chemistry. H. Moissan, who isolated fluorine, has given to the scientific world all his labors for the creation of an electrical furnace.

How can we forget that Pasteur was first of all a chemist? It was his studies in crystallography that led him to take up the subject of fermentations; and his researches in fermentation led him on to those studies of biological chemistry and the microbe theory which have transformed medicine and surgery. Fifteen years later Robert Koch merely borrowed, in the botanical realm, his method of cultures on gelatine. It is well known that the isolation of the tubercular bacillus, whose existence Villemin affirmed as far back as 1865, was realized by the German bacteriologist.

Germany also has a right to be proud of her chemists, Liebig, Bunsen, Hoffmann, Kékulé. Applied and industrial chemistry has been one of the sources of her prodigious economic development. Her spirit of perseverance and logic has

given her free range in this vast domain; but only rarely has she possessed what is the chief characteristic of French genius—intuition, the forerunner of invention.

To France botanical science owes Bor-net, the distinguished phytologist; Zeiller and Renaut, the founders of paleobotany; van Tieghem, whose works have brought him a renown which his modesty never sought.

In mineralogy Haüy found disciples in our own country who were his equals. Delafosse, Bravais, Pasteur established molecular theories; optical properties were studied especially by Des Cloizeaux, de Sénarmont, Mallard; Fouqué and Michel Lévy established a new science, petrography; we owe to Henri Sainte-Claire Deville, to Daubrée, to Friedel, to Hautefeuille reproductions by synthesis of minerals found in nature; Albert Gaudry and his pupils made the most precious contribution to the study of fossil animals; Elie de Beaumont will go into history as one of the greatest geologists of modern times; Hébert, Gosselet, and Marcel Bertrand have carried forward our knowledge of the structure of our planet; the works of Charles Sainte-Claire Deville and of Fouqué on volcanoes are authorities.

Zoological science finds eminent representatives in France: De Quatrefages, Alphonse Milne-Edwards, who followed up the labors of his father; de Lacaze-Duthiers, creator of the laboratories of maritime zoology; Alfred Giard, author of beautiful studies in zoological philosophy, and histologists of distinction, founders of schools, Robin and Ranvier.

In medicine and surgery French savants stand in the first rank. Bichat, creator of general anatomy; Laennec, who invented auscultation; Bretonneau, who has been called the French Sydenham; Villemin, who proved that tuberculosis was contagious; Claude Bernard, of whom it was said that he was "physiology itself"; Brown-Séquard, who applied the doctrine of internal secretions to the art of healing; Paul Bert, author of many beautiful experimental researches in atmospheric pressure and mountain fever; Charcot, founder of the Salpê-

trière School; Ollier, the great Lyons surgeon; Marey, who was led by his study of the movements of animals to the invention of the cinematograph; Chauveau, the contemporary and rival of Pasteur; Laveran, who first analyzed the origin and nature of swamp fevers and diseases due to blood parasites; Charles Richet, who introduced into medicine two fundamental theories, serotherapy and, more recently, anaphylaxis; Duclaux, Dr. Roux, Nocard, worthy students of the great Pasteur, to whom the world owes the celebrated establishment in the Rue Dutot—and with them the Russian, Metchnikoff, who discovered phagocytose—are masters before whom Germany herself is compelled to bow.

Finally, if one considers the Institute of France at the present moment, can Germany offer the equivalent of the mathematical section of our Academy of Sciences: Jordan, Darboux, Emile Picard, Appell, Painlevé, Humbert, Hadamard? And if we did not fear to weary our readers by too long an enumeration, could we not, by examining the other sections of the same academy, extend this comparison?

It will be noted that France, while holding an eminent place in the domain of science in bygone times, has not degenerated. Today, as yesterday, it is on French soil that the greatest creative achievements find birth. But, because France has the spirit of justice, she knows how to give credit to men of other lands who have enriched universal science. The English have every right to glory in the names of Dalton, Darwin, Sylvester, Cayley, Maxwell, Lord Kelvin, Faraday, Lord Lister, Lord Raleigh, Sir William Ramsay, Sir Patrick Manson, and many other great innovators whose ideas have scattered their seeds across the world. The Italians, to speak only of physicians and chemists, can be proud of Avogadro, Malaguti, Sobrero, Bertagnini, Cannizaro. And as to Germany, we are not ignorant of what science owes, in mathematics, to Jacobi; in physics, to Ohm, in chemistry, to Liebig, Wöhler, Bunsen, and Fischer; in biology, to Jean Muller, to Schwann, to Helmholtz, to Rodolphe Virchow, to Ehr-

lich, to Behring. But what we deny is the hegemony of German science. We hold for ourselves the honor of having been the leaders, the initiators, in the scientific domain, as in so many others, and the nations in whom a spirit of justice survives will recall the services we have rendered.

Ten years ago the Royal Society of London had the idea of appealing to all countries for the publication of an annual catalogue containing only the titles of the theatises in pure science published in the whole world. At present this catalogue consists each year of sixteen or seventeen compact volumes. The fact illustrates the intense development of scientific work, day by day, everywhere. Now the Germans, affecting no longer to use the French language, have urged every scientist to write in his own idiom, so that, to keep informed, one would have to know ten languages.

In order that no part of this labor should be lost, and that it should be at the service of all, a certain co-ordination is necessary. The Germans have long understood this: they wished to take the direction of the movement and to bring under subjection any science that was not born among them.

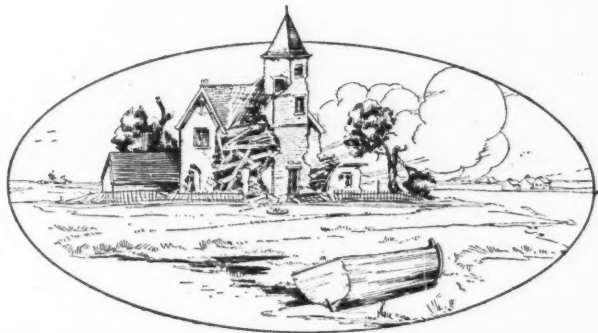
The German, in fact, is both disciplined and meticulous; he does not comprehend that the same thing can be done in two different ways; he does not see that, if co-ordination is good, liberty left in some degree to the choice of the worker vivifies and enriches the

product. That is why the German is so proud; why, when he has caught up and trituated with his own methods the rich ideas which come to him from elsewhere, he imagines that these ideas are his, that it is he who has conceived them.

A word in the German language expresses this tendency exactly—the verb “bearbeiten,” to work over. Frequently the German works things over. He does not admit that there can be found under the heavens any methods of work different from his own.

We think, on the contrary, that there is no need to do violence to anybody. In the scientific domain, as in others, each country should be guided by its own genius. It should apply itself to developing its own natural gifts in such a way as to form a harmonious whole, and different, in certain respects, from that of its neighbor. An orchestra is not made up of one kind of instruments, and, though concord is necessary, each instrument must yet preserve its own particular timbre and sonority.

Germany undertook to direct the concert, and even to stifle the other voices. Too long, among us, has the caprice of fashion, the superstition of force, served her ambitious designs. Our country ought to be grateful to the authors of this book for having established, not a truth at the service of the State, but the truth. An impartial judgment is the most beautiful homage that one can pay to the French genius.



# England and Polish Relief

By Adolf von Batocki

*Germany's Food Dictator*

*Great Britain, through Viscount Grey, has refused to allow American relief organizations to provision Poland unless Germany will agree to leave the new crops wholly for the Polish civilian population, and to give the American relief officials full control of the distribution of food. The following reply of Germany's food dictator was communicated through a staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:*

**I** CONSIDER Viscount Grey's arrogant and absurdly impossible terms dictated to Germany on which England would permit America to send foodstuffs into Poland not only a transparent and hypocritical play to the neutral gallery, but a subtle, cunning, and diabolical plot to draw Poland, Belgium, and Northern France into the theatre of the hunger war waged against humanity.

I am personally intensely interested in Viscount Grey's reported reply to America's appeal, and particularly in his threat that England would exact retribution and inflict punishment for every civilian life lost as a result of insufficient food in the territories occupied by the armies of the Central Powers. I am indirectly responsible for the feeding of Poland, because when foodstuffs are sent to the point of famine there I must give of our stocks in Germany, both for the army and for the civilian population. Thus there is no sugar in Courland, no sugar in Poland, or occupied Russia, for the retreating Russians destroyed all the beet-sugar factories, and so, although sugar is short in Germany, I must apportion small quantities to these occupied territories.

I am also intensely interested in the possibility of the neutral commission's ceasing its humanitarian work in France and Belgium, because in that case I would become responsible for feeding them. I must know what is needed in all the occu-

pied territories outside of Germany, too. I am also indirectly in touch with Austria, as well as directly with Serbia and Turkey.

Viscount Grey's threat of retribution and punishment frightens me, but fortunately there is an army between him and me. But, first, nobody will starve, and, secondly, Grey will not catch me. If America's humanitarian desire to aid in feeding Poland is balked and frustrated by the opposition of England, not one person will die of hunger, although the food rations will be short.

Although he threatens me with death if a single individual starves to death in the occupied territories, I nevertheless would be very happy to invite Viscount Grey to visit Germany, Poland, Belgium, and Northern France and personally convince himself of the conditions and the work we are doing at home and in the occupied territories, and I should also be pleased to show him what the Russians did to Poland. I would be happy to have him bring along some of his poor relations among the allied statesmen, and would gladly explain to him my whole economic system, and would even promise to go to considerable trouble to get him safe conduct. Then Viscount Grey could personally convince himself that England cannot starve Germany, nor Poland, nor Belgium, nor Northern France either. It might be a great step toward peace if the legend about starving out Germany were thus blasted.

I personally feel that it is unjust to treat Belgium better than Poland. Either give something to both or give nothing, is my attitude.

I am no professional politician, and I speak thus purely as my personal opinion from my economic viewpoint. What our statesmen will do in the matter of Grey's food ultimatum and how they will do it, is none of my business. But if our

statesmen say, "break with England on this impossible proposal," then it at once becomes very much my business. The whole responsibility will fall on me. I am not afraid of this responsibility. I shall have to care for everything in the food line in the occupied territories, and I will make it go, too. I shall treat Poland, Belgium, Northern France, and Germany as one economic and organic whole for the distribution of the necessities of life. It will be hard on the Belgians, but better for the Poles and the Jews.

Belgium will get a little less and Poland a little more, but, all the same, nobody will hunger. There will be an equal distribution of the absolute necessities. Both in Poland and Belgium all will receive enough bread, potatoes, and salt, also some sugar, very little meat, also very little fat, and fish not at all. Naturally, they will get no coffee, tea, or spices.

We must have complete control of the railways at all times. Where there are so few of them we cannot have outsiders meddling with the military railways. Under Grey's terms, no control over the railroads would be possible. It would simply lead to continuous friction with the neutral commissions in the matter of food transfers. Food shipments and distribution as between the army and the native population cannot be kept separate. As a practical example, Warsaw may have to give potatoes to the army, and we in turn may send potatoes to Warsaw. Furthermore, in the agricultural districts of Poland the Russians in retreating took away many of the inhabitants, as well as their horses. They destroyed the agricultural implements and machinery and burned down the barns and other farm buildings. As a result the German Army had to pitch in and help till the fields.

The German Army plowed and planted several millions of acres in Poland. It will now help in the harvest, and must further help in the farming in the future. The inhabitants alone cannot do it, because the larger part of their horses, tools, and buildings are gone and the greatest part of the seed had to be sent from Germany. There also are whole regions where there are practically no

farming inhabitants left, notably in the Baltic provinces. In Poland there are none at all immediately behind the front, so that the German Army has had and will continue to have to cultivate the land right up to the front.

Belgium and occupied France have until now been excluded from England's hunger war. The English have permitted foodstuffs to be brought into these territories under control of a neutral commission, and these were distributed as extra rations, in addition to the foods produced in the country. As a result, food conditions in those occupied territories became in many respects better than in Germany. Although from the German viewpoint this form of regulation gives rise to complaint, we nevertheless permitted it, in order to make the lot of the native Belgian and Northern French populations as pleasant as possible. In addition, our authorities, through the careful and thorough stimulation of agriculture in the territories occupied in the west, have assured to these territories the greatest possible food supply out of the present harvest, now beginning. And while Germany's stocks of cattle became depleted as a result of the shortage of fodder, necessitating a limit to the consumption of meat on the part of the German population, cattle stocks in the occupied territories in the west have developed favorably, even better than in peace times, and the Belgian meadows today are richer in cattle than ever before.

Much more hateful and ruthless has been Russia's attitude toward the Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, and other inhabitants of the vast Russian territory occupied by the German troops. This territory is so great and fruitful that the 1915 harvest would have sufficed adequately to feed the native population if the Russians before their flight had not destroyed as much as possible of the live stock and supplies, and even the standing harvest. Through their gruesome and senseless devastation of countless farmhouses and other buildings they condemned the unfortunate inhabitants to spend the Winter huddled together in the poorest shelters, to build which our troops aided the population as much as possible. After the oc-

cupation of this territory everything was done on our part to save that part of the harvest that had not been destroyed, and so to divide the food supplies that even in the large cities a famine was avoided.

The armies in the east were fed as far as possible from Germany in order to leave as much foodstuff as possible to the natives. Despite all this the situation was extremely hard for the poor population in many parts of the occupied territory, particularly in Warsaw, Lodz, and similar cities until the present harvest began. Naturally our authorities could not do England the favor of letting the inhabitants of Germany starve in order to send foodstuffs from Germany to the population of occupied territory to replace what the Russians had purposely destroyed.

A year ago the cries of the West Russian population were directed toward America and all neutral States. The desire to create in Poland as in Belgium an international relief work, has been shattered against the opposition of Eng-

land. England would rather see Polish women and children starve than run the risk of having anything whatever reach the German population from Poland. England, therefore, procrastinated, delayed negotiations, and set up conditions which for military reasons were impossible of acceptance by Germany. The consequences, despite all the care of the German authorities, have had to be borne by the women and children of West Russia. But there was one thing that our authorities could at least take care of; namely, that this year's harvest in West Russia was prepared for in the best possible way. This could not be achieved entirely without sacrifices on the part of the German people, for large quantities of seed had to be exported from Germany into the districts devastated by the Russians. This sacrifice has had its result. As in Germany and the territories in the west a very good harvest stands on the fields of this vast region of Poland, Livland, and Courland. In many cases the crop is better than ever was the case under Russian Government.

## Peace Appeal of the German National Committee

The formal appeal of the German National Committee, which has been formed to procure an "honorable peace," is signed, among others, by Professor Harnack, the great theologian, and begins:

"The German National Committee wishes to unite independent and patriotic men belonging to the various parties who take the standpoint that, while no timidity should hamper the future safety of the empire, no frivolous covetousness should endanger that safety now or in the future. This can only be attained by a peace that resolutely avoids the unwillingness to fight of the pacifists at any price and the insatiability which is displayed in the manifestos of the Pan-German League. The Imperial Chancellor in March, 1916, in a speech on which Field Marshal von Hindenburg congratulated him, gave the formula for this peace, namely, the extension of our frontiers in the east and real guarantees in the west, without both of which there can be no peace and no surrender of the occupied territories."

The appeal adds that the task of the committee "must be to procure with similarly disposed people a uniform feeling as the basis for a German peace." It presses for freedom to discuss peace, "which has hitherto been refused by the Government."



# The Allies of the Future

By Professor Hugo Münsterberg

*Of Harvard University*

**A**FTER the war the Russian and the British world empires will and must be the central energies of two diverging combinations, and Germany, whatever the peace may bring, will be the one European power which can tip the scale for either on the world balance. Many in Germany would quickly decide in favor of an alliance with Russia. Austria, Turkey, and Japan would join it heartily and other nations would lean toward it. It would be a tremendous alliance—and yet it would bring incalculable harm. One effect would be sure—it would lead to a war with England after a few short years. Russia, with Japan, Germany, Austria, and Turkey combined, would feel strong enough for the final blow of the bear's paw at India and Egypt. Revenge on England would be the German motive for this unnatural alliance, and the war cry of revenge would stir all the nations which have winced under England's grasp.

This would be really the superwar, and the struggle of today would appear a mere prelude. The world would be at stake. Europe would be devastated, for the first time Asia would tremble, and America would be drenched with blood. The peace after this war would be only a signal for a new grouping which would raise the spectre of a new and more horrible struggle to terrorize the earth. The German-Russian-Japanese alliance would be a league to enforce war; but we want

peace, and every effort ought to be bent to avert such a gruesome future.

Only one way remains open, the way in the opposite direction. Germany must join not Russia, but England. Moreover, as Japan has definitely allied itself with Russia for the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, and as the two Asiatic powers would

menace America's position in the Pacific, the United States cannot remain isolated. But every danger for its world commerce is removed if America joins the British-German alliance. The English Navy, the German Army, the American wealth, nay, the English diplomacy, the German thoroughness, and the American optimism and dash, form an alliance which is invincible. It is the one league in the world the mere existence of which would guarantee the

peace of the next generation.

France and Austria, Italy and Sweden, Holland and Spain, Brazil and Argentina, would naturally cluster about this massive union of the big three. It would be America and Central Western Europe on one side, Asia and Eastern Europe on the other; but such a partition of the world would not even suggest a contest of arms, as Russia could not dare to attack India and Germany at the same time. It would be truly a world division with a historic allotment of peaceful tasks. If America, Great Britain, and Germany frankly and heartily decide to stand together, the war of today may be the last great war for a century.



Obstacles surely crowd this way, but is it not worth every effort to remove the hindrances if it is clear that every other way leads only to abysses? America felt strong in its traditional policy of avoiding alliances with the distant European nations, but in this age of the storage battery and the wireless those European countries are no longer distant. They have become near neighbors, and the politics of the United States is firmly intertwined with their fate.

But it appears useless to discuss the small serious arguments against such a union, as one opposing power seems greater than arguments—the hate. The sowers of hate have gone up and down through the three lands and the seed has grown. Will not this hate strike out every line of a possible treaty? No, and a hundred times no, because British and Germans and Americans are not Sicilians and Corsicans who swear vendetta. Teutons can hate, but they hate nothing worse than hatred. It is tolerated as long as it serves its purpose of stirring the soul for the passionate deed, but when the smoke of the guns has been dispersed by the wind the hatred will have cleared away too. Among the many feelings in which these three noble peoples will find their union there will surely be the common feeling of shame at the absurd extent of their loathing.

The sober hours will come and the necessary illusions will lose their influence. Germans, British, and Americans alike will see that they operated with too simple psychology, simple as that of the moving-picture dramas where no complex mental states are allowed and every character is angel or villain and must shout yes or no. It is not true that the responsible men of any nation wanted war. They all sincerely wished to avoid it, while they all saw its unavoidable coming. They really did not want it, and yet subconsciously they all wanted it. Even when the furies of war had swept through the land no nation planned an immoral deed. It is true in Belgium and Greece, in Persia and Spain, in China and Africa, and where not, treaties were ignored in this war; but has not the Supreme Court of the United

States for all time proclaimed "that circumstances may arise which would not only justify the Government in disregard of their stipulations, but demand in the interests of the country that it should do so? Unexpected events may call for a change in the policy of the country." It stamps it as the American idea of international law "that, while it would always be a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy to refuse to execute a treaty, the power to do so was the prerogative of which no nation could be deprived without deeply affecting its independence." Many mistakes have been made. German statesmen regret sincerely the German ones; no doubt the British feel the same about the British ones. No one can wonder that in the heat of the struggle those blunders, when they did harm, were denounced as moral wrongs, that every unintentional homicide was branded as murder and every munition sale was abused as hypocrisy and violation of neutrality. But can this temper last?

Are we not anyhow too much under the suggestion of the impudent headlines? However much the press, the priests, and, alas! the professors have sinned in all three lands, do we not overestimate the amount of hatred? Germany and England have almost buried it, and America will follow. Above all, it has had to struggle more and more with the opposite feeling. Those who really know are sure that the strongest mental effect of these two years of war is a new mutual respect of the belligerent nations for one another. The Germans had never believed that France still possessed such wonderful courage and that Russia had improved its national life so much since the Japanese war and that Great Britain would find such imposing loyalty in its colonies. Nor had Western Europe believed that Austria or "the sick man," Turkey, would show so much strength, and the admiration for Germany's efficiency is proved by the eager imitation. The loud and fashionable detestation belonged to the claptrap of the war; the increased respect will be the lasting outcome. How England and France or England and the Boers hated each other!

How bitter was the hatred between Russia and Japan, and today they are cordially united. When peace comes the hatred will be the nightmare of yesterday; the Teuton mind will shake it off and America, Britain, and Germany will form the one alliance which will secure peace without any clouds on the horizon.

But surely one other resolution will be necessary for it. If the world wants real peace for the twentieth century it must prepare for it by the terms of Christmas, 1916. The one alliance which can save Western Europe will not come if it is not initiated by the spirit of this Fall's peace negotiations. If any great nation leaves the field humiliated its rankling wound will endanger the future. Each has bravely given its heart's blood for its freedom, each must return from the battle in honor with unbroken sword. The triumph of past conflicts was to see the foe in the dust; in our age of the new idealism the greatest triumph in the struggles of war, as in the battles of social reform, is not to crush the enemy but the enmity. This war was worth the appalling sacrifices only if through it not one people but mankind is advanced. Each nation must feel a stronger self-reliance, a happier willingness to live up to its mission, a larger trust in its safety and its future than it ever felt in the age before the explosion. That was a time of distrust and suspicion and envy and anger and fear which choked the strongest; we greet the new time of mutual confidence.

Germany has earned the most obvious war laurels of the old style, as its brave armies hold the conquered lands of the enemy. It is, therefore, first of all Germany's duty to initiate the coming age; and Germany is ready. Germany will not demand a square foot of the conquered territory in France or Belgium; this is an area abundant in treasures of the soil which Germany needs; but it will renounce them, and this ought to be the symbol for the settlements of the coming Winter. More than that, the Germans see with open eyes that they will suffer great and painful colonial losses.

The jewel of their love, Kiao-Chau, may never be returned to them; and, worse, the only large colony which was really fit for the German immigrant, Southwest Africa, may be held by the Boers who invaded it. It will be only a small territorial substitute if Germany receives the old German province of Courland from Russia and perhaps other African colonies from France, from Belgium, from Portugal, where German people cannot live, but from which at least raw material may be secured for German industry.

Germany even seems to be willing in the interest of the peace of Europe to have Poland made a kingdom again, connected with Austria. No doubt this, too, involves a certain German sacrifice, as it may easily bring restlessness to the Poles of Prussia's eastern provinces. It may be that Bessarabia will go to Rumania, but surely Russia will have no reason to complain. A wonderfully rich prize will be hers, as the world will be ready to give all Persia to Russia, and with it the harbors which no ice can block. Even Afghanistan may fall to her lot.

England, as always through the centuries, will be a winner without loss. The diamond land of Southwest Africa may be added to Rhodesia. But England will also get possession of Egypt, after having forgotten for a while that she does not possess it yet. France will receive back all the land which Germany has conquered, and it may be that the peace conference will give to her that part of Lorraine which she occupies today, perhaps in exchange for a good part of Morocco in order that Germany may have at least some foothold in Africa where Germans can live in a moderate climate. Belgium will certainly go back to the Belgians, and at last their racial instinct will be fulfilled; the Flemish and the Walloons will find the chance to have separate administration in their own languages.

It is easy to foresee that there will be some malcontents in every German village who will complain as the Japanese complained after the peace of Portsmouth. They will feel that the German

armies had made the greatest gains and that the diplomats took from their hands what they conquered. Their lament will sound faintly in the chorus of German approval.

When the war broke out no responsible German dreamed of conquest. The cartoonists of her enemies amused their public with Germany's plans for European dominion and comforted them with Germany's failure, as she did not even swallow Paris and Petrograd, not to speak of Peking and Rio de Janeiro. The Germans made in Germany see the hopes fulfilled with which they took up the defense of their country. Not the gain of territory but the safety of Germany's future was their dream. Long freight trains will move to and fro between Berlin and Bagdad, the pressure from east and west will be removed, the sea will be free for Germany's industry and world commerce, the encircling ring of jealousy is broken once for all. Europe knows now the German swords and spears; tomorrow they will be beaten into pruning hooks and plowshares. The jealousy between England and Germany will yield to an earnest desire for mutual understanding, and each will learn from the other. Germany's respect for England's success in its colonies and England's respect for Germany's social organization will mold the future of the two nations.

How much less would Germany gain, if it gained more!

But it is not enough that Germany and England alone lay the foundations for the great future alliance in the peace negotiations. The third partner must not wait until the decisive steps of the European nations have been taken. The one alliance which can crown the century demands not only that Germany and England find each other but that they find each other through the good-will of America. Sensationalists have tired our ear with their cries of remember this and remember that and remember everything; it is a greater art and a higher task to forget. If America will, both Germany and England can forget, and in the ocean of thought which binds the three peoples the submarines of emotion will leave their torpedoes at home and will ply unarmed to the foreign shores. Individuals are freer than peoples. Nothing seems needed but that three great men listen to the voice of the age and fulfill today the sacred task for which it may be too late tomorrow. The gods of history have put three great Democrats each into the place of honor and trust and power. If Woodrow Wilson, Bethmann Hollweg, and Lloyd George will speak the word for which the century is ripe, not only this war will be ended, but future wars will be impossible.

## The Vitality of France

How the Nation Recovered From Three Devastating Wars

By Ernest Lavisse

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This address, translated for CURRENT HISTORY from *Les Annales de France*, is the last of a series of twelve historic letters addressed to the French people. It is written by Ernest Lavisse of the French Academy, President of the Committee of Publication, which consists of fifteen of the intellectuals of the republic, including Bedier, Bergson, Boutroux, Denis, Admiral Degouy, and other conspicuous leaders in academic and literary circles.

THE English and the French, today faithful allies, often were bitter foes. One of their wars lasted a hundred years. France seemed definitely conquered when, in 1422, the foolish King Charles VI. died.

Charles VII., who succeeded him, reigned over only some cantons of the Loire country, and gave up hope of recovering his kingdom. Joan of Arc, a true daughter of our people, knew, as our people know today, that France cannot

VERDUN IN RUINS: PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A FRENCH AEROPLANE



The Portion of Verdun Around the Little Open Square, Where the Ring of Shrubbery Is Seen, Has Suffered Most From German Shells. The Cathedral Beyond Also Has Many Great Holes in It.  
(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

CHARACTERISTIC RUSSIAN TYPES IN THE BUKOWINA DRIVE



The Russians Captured Many Pieces of Artillery in Their Onward Sweep. The Soldiers Here Photographed Are Grouped About a German Howitzer Taken From the Koenigsberg Regiment of Grenadiers. In the Background Is the Orthodox Church of Czartorysk.

(Photo by Central News Service.)

die; she said so to the King, to the Bishops, to the lords, to the common folk; they believed her, and you know that marvelous history—the triumphal entry at Rheims, where King Charles was crowned in presence of Joan, who, standing in the choir, held her standard aloft. Alas! Joan did not see the decisive victory; she died on the pyre at Rouen; but she had predicted that the invaders would be driven out except those who might remain to be buried there. The prediction was fulfilled, and King Charles reigned over France delivered.

But France suffered cruelly from this war.

A bourgeois of Paris, who wrote at the beginning of the reign of Charles VII., relates that the starving Parisians besieged the doors of the bakeries; the little children were crying, "I am hungry! I am hungry!" "They had," says he, "neither corn, nor wood, nor coal." They had cabbage stalks and "herbs without cooking them, without bread or salt."

The greatest evil was done by the troops of mercenary soldiers, who served indifferently the King of France or the King of England. They were neither French nor English; they were, as they called themselves, "Flayers," and merited that name, for they flayed France.

"I have seen with my eyes," says Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux, "the countries of Champaign, Brie, Gâtinais, the Chartrain territory, Dreux, Maine, Perche, those of the Vexin, of the Beauvoisis, of the territory of Caux from the Seine as far as Amiens, of Senlis, of the Soissonais, of the Valois, and all the country as far as Laon and beyond Hainaut, hideous to look at, void of peasants, full of briers and thorns." We believed we were reading a description of the country ravaged in our days by the Germans.

A letter of Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Bishop of Beauvais, addressed to King Charles, seems also to bear upon the deeds of the German barbarians today: "How many churches have been burned! They seize the unfortunate laborers; they imprison them; they put them in irons in places full of filth, full of vermin.

They are not set free until after having paid more than they have. These brigands maltreat also the women and the girls. \* \* \*

The Bishop speaks again of mills, of kilns, of wine presses, of all sorts of utensils destroyed. In the same way to-day the German "Flayers" in Belgium and in France ruin the places and the instruments of labor, as if they wished to destroy the future.

The whole kingdom had its share of suffering.

"Alas! Sire," concluded the Bishop of Beauvais, "look at your other cities and countries, like Guyenne, Toulouse, Languedoc. All is going to destruction and desolation, even to final perdition!"

"Final perdition!" Jean Juvenal des Ursins thought then that this was the end of all.

But the peasants who had sought refuge in the strong castles and in the cities, immediately after the conclusion of peace, returned to the fields. "They deeply rejoiced," says Thomas Basin, "to see the woods and the fields again, the green meadows, and to see the waters of the rivers rolling. They began to work everywhere. Not only the old cultures are resumed, but the plow attacks the woods and the uncultivated ground, and soon the arable lands of the kingdom will be increased by a third.

"Commerce revives. The fair of Lyons attracts people of all lands. King Charles concludes treaties of commerce; he is in correspondence with the Sultan of Turkey and the Sultan of Morocco. Our merchants traffic in the seas of the North, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Syria. Also there is a revival of prosperity in the Kingdom of France, which poets of the time celebrated."

France recovers her ancient grandeur. Even before being completely free, Charles sends troops into Alsace; some of them he leads into Lorraine. He remembers that the left bank of the Rhine formerly belonged to his "predecessor Kings of France"; he protests against "the usurpations and enterprises practiced upon the rights of his kingdom and crown of France." He wishes "to

reduce to his allegiance" these usurped countries. Charles VII., so unimportant, so miserable upon his advent, became the greatest personage of Europe; the Doge of Venice, receiving his Ambassadors, declares that "the King of France is the King of Kings, and that without him there can be none."

#### IN THE TIME OF KING HENRY IV.

Let us pass a century and a half; we now come to the accession of Henry IV. in 1589. Just like Charles VII., he is a King almost without a kingdom. He is forced to fight not only three-fourths of his subjects, who did not want to recognize his authority, but also the Spaniards, who wished to subjugate France. He fights like a brave man with a handful of brave men. He is without the means to clothe himself. "My pourpoint is worn at the elbows," he says; and he lacks the means of daily sustenance; his "pot is overturned," and he eats sometimes with one, sometimes with another. With courage and skill he defeats all resistance. In 1598 he imposes peace on the Spaniards and he grants to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes liberty of conscience. Thus closed a deplorable period of foreign and civil warfare.

That war, which lasted forty years, had put France as low as the hundred years of the English war.

A foreign Ambassador writes: "There is not a noble family in France where the father or the son has not been slain or wounded, or made prisoner." More than 4,000 castles have been destroyed. The people have not suffered less—more than 700,000 men have been slain, nine cities destroyed, and more than 125,000 houses of villages burned. On the frontier almost all the villages are deserted. Starving wolves roam the country. Industrial work is stopped almost everywhere. At Provins, where 600 cloth workers were employed, there remain but four. At Tours, where the silk manufacture had engaged 800 master workmen and more than 600 journeymen, there remain but 200; the journeymen have disappeared. At Senlis, at Meaux, Melun, Saint-Denis, Amiens, the cessation of work is equal or worse.

The cities are filled with beggars, fugitive peasants, and workmen without work. At Paris these poor people crowded in the cemeteries, where they slept on the tombs. On March 4, 1596, the police counted 7,769 of them in the Cemetery of the Innocents.

The hospitals are glutted with sick whom they cannot nourish. The plague begins its work. It carries off at Paris 150,000 persons in the year 1597.

Considering all these evils, Etienne Pasquier said that a man who would have slept during the forty years of war and awakened would have believed that he saw, not France any longer, but "a corpse of France."

But behold how the corpse revives!

When war has ceased, the laborers vigorously resume the plow. Sully aids them with all his strength, for they were the subjects of the King whom he loved the best. He said: "Husbandry and pasturage are the two breasts by which France is nourished." The workmen commence to hammer. The necessary industries prosper. Even some industries de luxe are set on foot, that of silk, for example. Henry IV. is proud to display his feet incased in silk stockings made in France.

In order to facilitate the circulation of products of agriculture and of industry, the roads destroyed are rebuilt and the fallen bridges reconstructed. Navigation is revived. Treaties of commerce are concluded with foreign countries. The Sultan renews the privileges of our merchants in his States, and once more recognized the protectorate of France over the Holy Lands. More than a thousand French vessels carry on commerce in the Levant. At the same moment, France sets foot in America. Quebec is founded in Canada, and the "New France" colonized.

This renaissance of all our forces astonishes the foreigner. Just Zinzerling, who wrote a "guide" to France, avers that wine abounds in the south. "The City of Bordeaux forwards to itself alone a hundred thousand hogsheads a year." He saw everywhere extensive pasturages, with grazing cattle. He admires the abundance of fowl. Fortunately,

says he, they do not eat in other countries as many capons, hens, and pullets as they do in France in one day, for the species would perish. Even the provinces which were the most tried by the war regained their prosperity. Picardy became "the granary of France."

But it is especially to the testimony of the Venetian Ambassadors that we must have recourse. These men studied with great care and a serious intelligence the countries where they represented their republic. In 1598 the Ambassador Duedo announces that in ten years the kingdom, "if it has not regained its old splendor, it is not far from it." His successor, Vendramin, affirmed also that France would easily re-establish herself, "as that has happened several times in the space of a thousand years and more." Two Envoys Extraordinary, coming to Paris shortly after the death of Henry IV., write to their Government that "the Kingdom of France, by the misfortunes of the past, has not been diminished in any of its forces"; "the body, very robust, cheered up in sickness, developed in trials, and, as if raised from the dead, has recovered, after touching the ground, much stronger than before." Finally, the Ambassador Contarini writes these words, which we should think over: "France, when she herself does not weaken her own forces, can always counterbalance any power whatever."

Indeed, soon she counterbalanced the power of the family of the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain, who then menaced the liberty of Europe as the coalition of the Hohenzollern family of Berlin and of the Hapsburg family of Vienna threaten it today. Henry IV. was about to begin the struggle against them when he was assassinated; the Hapsburgs had a moment of respite; but soon Louis XIII. and Richelieu are to come, and then Louis XIV., and the King of France will be again the "King of Kings."

#### THE TESTIMONY OF AN ENEMY

In the times nearest us, other examples of French vitality succeed one another. Harken! Listen well to the

evidence of a foreigner, of an enemy, of a great enemy, the former Chancellor of the German Empire, the Prince von Bülow. He writes, in his book entitled "German Policy," that France has "an unshakable faith in the indestructibility of the vital forces of the nation," and that "this dogma is based on the precedents of history." He continues:

"No people has ever repaired as quickly as the French the consequences of a national catastrophe, none has ever recovered with the same ease, the elasticity, the confidence in itself and the spirit of enterprise after cruel mistakes and defeats which seemed crushing. More than once Europe believed that France had ceased to be potential, but each time the French Nation again stood up erect before Europe after a short delay, with her vigor of old or an increase of force."

M. von Bülow gives his proofs, of which here is the last:

"The defeat of 1870 had for France consequences graver than any other had had before it, but it has not broken the force which this people of a marvelous elasticity can produce for a new occasion."

This German of today thinks exactly as did the Venetians of the sixteenth century. Like them, and even more strongly, he affirms that France is indestructible, and that the quickening, after great crises, is a law of our history.

This law will apply itself once more after the terrible crisis of today, for the soil of France has preserved its natural richness and the French are on the point of proving that they have not lost the energy of their fathers. Certainly, the difficulties will be great. Not only will it be necessary to repair the desolated ruins, but portentous political and social problems, which our fathers knew not, will be presented to us. No matter! We shall write in our history a new proof of our vital force. We shall not ourselves "enfeeble our own forces" by domestic discord. We will not give to our abominable enemy this revenge—one of his punishments shall be to see standing erect, stronger and prouder, the France he believed he had crushed.

# The New Russia: A Myth or a Reality?

By Isaac Don Levine

*A Russian Jew Who Came to America to Escape Russian Oppression*

**B**EFORE the great war there were in reality two Russias—the Russia of the people, the Russia of tomorrow, and the Russia of the Government, the Russia of yesterday. The line was so sharply drawn between the two that no observer failed to notice it. Russia's autocracy came to be regarded universally as the most autocratic institution among the nations of our time, while Russia's democracy, as any raw democracy is apt to be, was, to state it mildly, radical in the extreme. That the gulf between Russian bureaucracy and democracy could ever be bridged seemed beyond human credence. It was the general belief that only the overthrow of the bureaucracy could produce a new Russia.

But the great war made possible the impossible. The most bureaucratic autocracy came to fight for the very life of the world's democracy. Russia's radical forces could not but do the same thing. The war has thus produced a common object in the lives of the two Russias. This extraordinary condition could not fail to produce a corresponding effect. There came into existence a series of potent factors which are exerting their influence toward the regeneration of Russia, factors which are slowly but successfully working toward bridging the gulf between the two Russias and creating one free Russia.

The first and foremost of these factors is the nation's spontaneous response to the many needs of the army, as expressed through the numerous social organizations actively engaged in co-operating with the army to insure victory. Now social organization of any kind was always obnoxious to the Russian Government, for organization implies social gatherings, public discussions, all democratic agencies. This time the social organizations were working for the achievement of the same end as the Government,

and for a while it was thought were to be tolerated. But then they commenced teaching the Government some lessons in efficiency. They tackled the problems facing the country in a manner that made them indispensable to the Government. Also, the Government soon realized that there was a mutual bond between the army and the people, a bond of sympathy and loyalty which was generated through the people's devotion to the object of the war. As a result of that bond, a phenomenal process is taking place in Russia—the democratization of the army.

It is not the democratization of the army's organic life that is occurring, but the democratization of its spirit. The Russian Army, with the exception of Germany's, was the most soulless, blind, and obedient military machine in Europe. As the tool of the Government in crushing internal disturbances it was hated and feared by the people. The army paid the nation in the same coin, fully justifying its reputation. A Zabern affair was a very common occurrence in Russia, though seldom, if ever, reported in the foreign press. Russian junkerism built and fortified the wall between the army and the people.

But that wall is nearly gone now. Where there was mutual hatred, there are mutual affection and co-operation now. Not long ago Leonid Andreyev, foremost among Russian dramatists and one of the leaders of Russian democracy, made his passionate appeal on behalf of the Russian soldier. "Let us give all the love we have, all the care and attention we possess, to our soldiers!" he exhorted the Russian people. Such words had never before been heard in Russia from the mouth of a liberal. And how did the great Russian democracy respond to this appeal?

The anarchist, socialist, liberal Russia; her labor classes, her peasantry, and

Intelligentsia, all are giving generously and cheerfully their whole-hearted material support to the Russian Army. The Association to Organize Russian War Industries, for instance, has in the last year accomplished truly wonderful results. If the army is now receiving its ammunition in boxes bearing the inscription, made by the workingmen, "Spare no shells!" it is mostly due to the fact that Russian industries have nearly all been turned into ammunition suppliers, that railroad transportation in Russia, thanks to the organization just mentioned, has been greatly facilitated, and that Russian labor has been intelligent enough to remain loyal to the cause of democracy. The military class has come to see that it was democracy which, in the hour of need, had produced men of sterling powers of organization, such as Shingareff, member of the Duma, and Prince G. Lvoff, President of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union. The army saw autocracy, its former idol, fail most miserably, as exemplified by the charges against Sukhomlinoff, former War Minister, and the nation rally to save it from shameful disaster. Hence the democratization of its spirit.

But the nation's response has not been expressed only in purely mechanical aid to the army. To that must be added extensive humanitarian work done by other organizations, such as the All-Russian Zemstvo Union and the Union of Municipalities. These bodies have recently held national conventions in Moscow, and it is amazing to read the reports of their activities for the last year. They have provided medical help for the army and refugees, food stations for trench diggers, care for war orphans, legal aid for refugees and others. They have bought the cattle of the peasantry in the invaded provinces, coped with unemployment, cared for crippled soldiers, and located lost relatives of refugees. These activities have not been carried on in an accidental, local manner, but in a well-organized, nationally systematized movement, which is absolutely new to Russia.

The Russian soldier could not remain unmoved, finding his hereditary foe, the

revolutionary-democratic class, engaged in providing food and shelter for his wife, children, and aged parents. And the Russian public has come to feel proud of its soldiers, to whom history has allotted the mission of fighting for civilization and democracy.

The one big outstanding fact in the situation is that public opinion has become a force in Russia's national life. The Government has become impressed by the growing power of the public, as seen in the latter's activities and contact with the army. It has recently demonstrated upon several occasions its new attitude toward the Russian democracy, and it makes little difference whether this change of attitude was voluntary or involuntary. The dismissal of that most reactionary bureaucrat, Goremykine, from the Premiership was forced through public opinion, as expressed by Rodzianko, President of the Duma, in his famous letter to the Premier. The personal visit of the Czar to the Duma, the first he ever made to that body, was an event of deep significance in the same respect. It was the acknowledgment by Russian autocracy before all the world that Russian democracy is now regarded as a legitimate institution. Then, only a short while ago, Sukhomlinoff, ex-War Minister, was arrested and held for trial as the individual responsible for the delinquencies of the army during the Teutonic invasion of last year. By this act the Government branded itself as guilty of gross inefficiency, incompetency, and criminality in the past, and hanged its head in shame, bowing before the new spirit in administration of public affairs, the spirit of public service, which has been injected into the life blood of the Government by the people's national organizations.

This injection means the creation of another force for the making of a new Russia. To make the rusty and antiquated machinery of the Russian Government modern and efficient is going a long way toward the transformation of the country. It would be humanly impossible, no doubt, even through the medium of a revolution, to change Russia's vast Governmental plant from a dead to

a live body in a short time. It is a task of years, even under the most favorable of circumstances. But this task has been begun! Corruption and personal ambition are slowly and steadily, though with obstinate resistance, giving way to the self-denying, self-sacrificing kind of public service. And each new day brings improvement and promise for the dawn of a new era in Russia.

Thus, in the month of June alone several epoch-making reforms were promulgated in Russia. The temporary ban put on alcohol by the imperial ukase at the beginning of the war has now been made permanent by a legislative act passed by the Duma. This act provides for the prohibition of all alcoholic beverages, with the exception of some grades of light wine. The scourge of the Russian people has been removed for good. And it was the peasantry, through its representatives, that was chiefly responsible for that removal.

Another reform of equal, if not greater, import is the passage of a bill providing for the full emancipation of the Russian peasant. This was a Government bill. It was an extension of the historic reform of 1861, which abolished serfdom in Russia. Since 1861 the moujik had been no longer a slave, but neither was he as free as the American negro, for instance. The moujik was barred from Government service. He was legally in a class by himself. And a peasant passport meant in some cases as much as a Jewish passport. Indeed, in some respects, the disabilities of the peasant were greater than those of the Jew. The peasant had no legal right to be represented in the Imperial Council, which is Russia's upper house, while the Jew had. His representation in the Duma amounted only to a fraction of the other classes.

The peasant is the backbone of Russian democracy. To unchain him has been the aim of liberal Russia for decades. And now the Russian Government itself has been forced to put the moujik on a basis nearly equal to that of the merchant and land-proprietary classes.

The Duma also passed at its last session a bill providing for the appointment

of women to the positions of factory inspectors. The Russian woman is progressing at a rate as rapid as her Western sister. She is forcing herself into the industrial field as vigorously and successfully as into the educational and professional realms. After eighteen months of war the number of women in technical trades has increased 74 per cent., and nearly 300 per cent. in the metal manufacturing industries. Of the teachers in the elementary schools of the empire, 63 per cent. were women in 1915, a considerable increase for the first year of the war. Thousands of new schools have been instituted throughout the country in the last two years. At this writing Russia is engaged in discussing extensive plans formulated by the progressive Minister of Education, Count Ignatyev, for fundamental reforms in the high school system of the empire.

Perhaps no more striking illustration of the changes for the better can be furnished than the phenomenal decrease in crime. In the year of 1915 the number of criminal cases in Moscow constituted only 49 per cent. of all such cases in 1913, a normal year. Prohibition was chiefly responsible for this decrease, but the new spirit permeating Russian social life contributed a considerable portion toward the reduction. This fact alone would justify the claim that the social forces now abroad in Russia are of a nature that would sustain the most optimistic forecasts in regard to that nation's future.

To sum up the value of the social forces which the war has put in motion for the making of a new Russia it would be necessary to add to their past achievements also the results which they are likely to attain in the future. Their past is summarized in the fact, which no observer of Russia's internal life will fail to notice, that the tide of democracy in Russia is visibly and indisputably rising in all fields of public life, while that of autocracy is just as visibly and steadily ebbing.

The question thereupon arises: Is this process to continue till democracy becomes the predominant power in Russian life, or may not a reaction set in and halt the

progress of the democratic current? The answer lies in the very social forces which are responsible for the rising tide of democracy. Will these forces cease their activities in the near future or at the end of the war? It is self-evident that such will not be the case, for they are coping with ills that will not pass away easily and quickly. No one will claim that the havoc wrought by the war has not been fundamental and vast enough to demand the attention of humanity for generations to come. And this havoc is daily growing more and more disastrous, undermining every now and then a new pillar of the social and economic structure of each warring nation, and therefore calling for greater and more strenuous national exertions, thus increasing the scope and momentum as well as the creative powers of the forces that are employed in the making of a new Russia.

The economic forces working for the same end constitute in themselves a factor powerful enough to warrant their reaching the political goal without any support. First among them is the development of Russia's natural resources, both industrial and agricultural. Russia's latent industrial wealth is yet to be computed. But it is generally agreed that it is enormous. The vastness of the country fully justifies this universal belief. The war has given strong impetus to capital to seek investments in Russia. American and other foreign investors are but awaiting the conclusion of the war to pour their savings into Russia.

And Russia herself is already preparing for the new day in her industrial history. A commission has recently been created by the Russian Government, which includes representatives of the Council of the Empire and the Duma, to study financial and industrial possibilities in Russia and to prepare her for the expected intense industrial activities. The remaking of Russia from a semi-feudal to a modern industrial country means also its political regeneration. Capital will produce those elements in the country's population which form the backbone of any true democracy, as it

will also revolutionize the governmental machinery. Industrial development means efficiency in all phases of a nation's life. It also means the birth of a mighty labor class, and therefore the inauguration of many social reforms.

But should the country enter upon an agricultural rather than an industrial era, as many believe who hold that Russia was primarily destined to remain a great rural nation, the results would not be different. The world would draw most of the raw material required for its industries from Russia. This would bring prosperity to the peasantry, and prosperity means education and modernity. Money is a productive institution. Wealth, whether in the possession of the urbanite or villager, means the acquisition of all that wealth can buy, and, first of all, of those elementary things that make up the bases of modern civilization. The net result for Russia would again be the growth of a powerful, intelligent democracy.

An interesting phase of the situation has been pointed out recently by Count Kokovtsev, who has for many years served as Minister of Finance and who was Premier after the death of Stolypin. Although a typical bureaucrat, he had the vision to see Russia's future as a radical might have seen it. "Nothing can go back to the old conditions," he said. "There will be a constantly rising standard of living which will affect all our people in time and which will result in the creation of entirely changed conditions. Do you suppose, for example, that the soldiers, who have now become accustomed to having meat every day with their rations in the army, and sugar with their tea, which they can have all day long at present, will ever be content to go back to their villages and get meat only a few times a year? This will result in the creation of new wants in other ways, and new industries and new imports will consequently become imperative."

Another economic factor for the making of a better Russia; independent of those enumerated, is the liberation of Russia from the economic yoke of Germany. "Russia was but a colony of Ger-

many, economically," wrote recently an eminent Russian publicist. It was the Teutonic domination of the Russian markets which sustained the political domination by Prussia over the Russian Government, and vice versa. When the political yoke was broken by the present war the economic yoke also burst into fragments. But Russia will stand no more economic domination, and her commercial relations with France, England, and, for that matter, with any other nation, will be based on absolute equality of mutual advantages. Should it come to pass, however, that any of the allied countries should attain a position to exert political influence in Russia, it would be of an entirely different dye from the Teutonic influence. It would be another force for civilization, democracy, and liberty.

There is every indication now that the chief economic forces enumerated are industriously preparing for immediate activity as soon as the war ends. Russia, in all probability, will develop simultaneously both industrially and agriculturally. Her commerce will expand in degrees parallel to the growth of her productive wealth. It is not impossible that Russia is now facing an economic epoch as marvelous as that through which the United States passed after the civil war. No imagination can calculate the possibilities of such an era for Russia and for the whole world.

With the social forces now pervading Russia's national life, and with the latent economic forces awaiting their opportunity to join them, the new Russia is evidently a reality already in process of evolution.

## Serb and Croat Rivalry for Bosnia

By the Rev. M. D. Krmpotic

*Croatian Priest and Historian, Now in America*

*The remoter causes of the great war can be traced directly to the Balkans, and especially to the conflict of races, religions, and national ambitions centring on the Dalmatian Coast. One phase of this age-long conflict is presented in Father Krmpotic's article. Bosnia and Herzegovina are claimed alike by Austria-Hungary, by the Serbs of the Orthodox Church, who desire to set up a Southern Slav kingdom, and by the Croats, who are mostly Catholics and have a different ambition. Austria's annexation of these provinces was the immediate cause of the Serbian bitterness that led to the assassination at Serajevo, and this in turn led to Austria's ultimatum and the catastrophe of Europe.*

*The purpose of the following article is to show that Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be incorporated in a Greater Serbia, as Serbians desire if the Allies are victorious, but that those territories should be united to the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which is part of the Hungarian divisions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Croatia-Slavonia was separated from Hungary and made an Austrian crownland in 1849, but was reunited to Hungary in 1868.*

**B**OSNIA and Herzegovina were unknown to the Roman rulers until Croatian immigration had begun at the end of the sixth century from White Croatia, now Eastern Galicia; there it remained a part of Roman Dalmatia and Illyria, or Illyricum. The earliest inhabitants of the territory now covered by Bosnia and Herzegovina were the Illyrians. They were replaced in the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era by Croatian tribal divisions, or Zupanates. The two provinces were never united in the past. Their ori-

gin can be traced to a conglomeration of various political bodies, drifting together during the centuries, the changes being influenced at times by fate, or again by administrative policies. Most of these political bodies were integral parts of the Croatian, rather than of the Serbian State.

One must ascertain what territory was originally covered by the designation of Bosnia; then observe how this province widened, was subdivided and transferred to different jurisdictions and sovereignties, and, after vanishing entirely during

the period of Turkish occupation, has now become a territorial division, designated geographically as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The original Bosnian territory is mentioned in the middle of the tenth century as a part of Serbia, but it was before that time, as it was later, a part of Croatia. Herzegovina and Bosnia came under Turkish rule, like so many other parts of the Croatian Kingdom. The Turks joined all those divisions into one Governmental district, called a pashalic. At this time Bosnia reached its greatest extent. From 1437 to 1699 is the period of the Turkish wars. By the end of the fifteenth century the tide of the Ottoman invasion had crept up as far as the River Save, and this newly reached line of defense of the Christian West offered a stubborn resistance to the Turkish onslaught. In the decimating wars which terminated with the peace of Karlovci, Croatia proper never was conquered by the Turks, or by any of its later or present enemies.

In the first half of the fourteenth century the Serbian Empire had reached its zenith. Stephen Dushan the Strong, (1331-55,) the greatest of all the rulers of Serbia, had as his constant aim a Greater Serbia, which should unite all the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and win for himself the crown of a new Oriental empire, with its centre at Constantinople. In 1389 the Serbian imperial army was defeated on the battlefield of Kossovo by the Turks.\* After this defeat Serbia became a Turkish pashalic, and so remained to 1804.

Dushan's program for a Greater Serbia is accepted by modern Serbian rulers and politicians, their agents and adherents, anticipating the soft, warm nests promised them. It is known among the high-spirited Serbians as an "avowed right, avowed thought, of all Serbs" to have, hold, possess, and dominate the whole Balkan Peninsula, between the four seas

and the valleys of the Rivers Danube and Drave.

As a result of the battle of Mohacs in 1526 the Turks subjugated the Hungarian Kingdom. But Croatia repulsed the Turks and defended itself and Christianity. Back to the dawn of history the Croat branch of the Slav race had lived a hard life and fought for existence. They had struggled with Avars, Franks, Saxons, Germans, Huns, Mongols, Latins, and Turks. They have saved Western civilization to posterity. Before the battle of Mohacs the Croatian magnates met in Diet and decided "to ask help from the Emperor Charles V. and the Austrian Prince Ferdinand as ruler of the Slovenian countries to reoccupy Bosnia and dominate it." After the battle of Mohacs, as the Hungarian Army was annihilated and the King of Hungary and Croatia had perished and the throne was therefore vacant, the Croats met on Jan. 1, 1527, in Diet sitting at Cetinje and unanimously elected Ferdinand Hapsburg as their King and confirmed the succession to his heirs. The Hapsburgs ever since have been the legal Kings of Croatia. At the election of Ferdinand at Cetinje Bosnia was represented, which speaks for itself and proves that Bosnia was a part of Croatia. Ever since then the Kings of Croatia have held the title of King of Bosnia as an official appellation.

The Croats have always asserted their rights to Bosnia. The miserable conditions and sufferings of their brothers in Bosnia were always in their heart and mind. The Pragmatic Sanction regulating the succession to the throne, unanimously accepted by the Croats in Diet on March 9, 1712, expressly requested that all parts of the Croatian Nation or State be united. This sanction, as well as the election diploma of 1527, was acknowledged by the present ruler of the monarchy in his answer to the Croatian Parliament on Oct. 8, 1861. Section 3 of the diploma to which he swore on his coronation in 1867 reads: "We promise \* \* \* all the parts of Hungary and its sister kingdoms, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, which are occupied already, and those which shall be by

\*The Serbs at Kossovo fought so gallantly that each recurring anniversary of the battle is still celebrated by their descendants. Recently in England, out of compliment to the Serbs, Kossovo Day was recognized by the British Government.

Divine help reoccupied, (Bosnia and Herzegovina,) to incorporate them according to the tenor of our oath on coronation, to the named land and the sister kingdoms." Here is the positive sanction of so solemn a law as the coronation oath indicating the rights of Croats to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On July 1, 1875, the villagers of Nevesinje, in Herzegovina, started an insurrection, and within a few weeks the whole country was involved. In July, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro joined the struggle, and in 1877 Russia declared war on the Sultan. By the agreements of 1876 and 1877, and by the secret convention of July 13, 1878, Russia had doubtless consented to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, in view of the impending Russo-Turkish war. These were intended to purchase Austro-Hungarian neutrality. In the war of 1877 and 1878, Rumania helped Russia and Turkey was compelled to sue for peace, which resulted in the treaty of St. Stefano. The treaty reduced the power of the Sultan in Europe to a shadow. If it had been carried into effect, Bulgaria would have owned three-fifths of the whole peninsula, with a population of 4,000,000.

The great powers now intervened, fearing that this big Bulgaria would become a Russian dependency. Under these circumstances it would have mattered little to Russia that the central power incorporated Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the exception of Montenegro, the Serbians long have been left out of account by Russian statesmen. The revision of the treaty of St. Stefano at the Congress of Berlin inflicted deep humiliation on Russia. Great Britain (represented by Disraeli) and France helped Germany and Austria to tear up the treaty, and incurred the moral responsibility for the carnage and havoc in the Balkans since 1878 up to these bloody days in Europe. For these diplomatic good offices Great Britain secured the Island of Cyprus, the price of peace with honor!

The Croats never tried to obliterate the name nor the existence of the Serbians, nor denied to them their customs, their history, and cultural achievements. On

the contrary they sympathized with them, won pride in their independence and their kingdom of Serbia, and always accorded to them all rights belonging to a nation. But the Serbian program or design laid down by Dushan the Strong, to absorb all the Slavic nations in the Balkans, so as to constitute a Greater Serbia, never was accepted, nor will it be, by the Croats or by any of the Balkan branches of the Slavic people. The platform containing the sweeping consequences of the losing of their national name, history, and independence is bitterly opposed by all patriotic Croats and Slovenes from the Drina to the Sotcha (Isonzo) and from the Danube and Drave to the Adriatic.

The Serbians are denying flatly the Croatian right to a name, a history, and even a language. They proclaim that Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina were and are provinces of the Serbian Empire, and that the people living there are pure and genuine Serbs. But, alas, the teachers of this doctrine, its defenders and propagators, cannot prove it by anything save their political fantasy and fanaticism, backed by mere assertion. Some native Croats are spreading such doctrines, playing the rôle of traitors to their people and cause; for a dish of lentils or a Judas reward or fat position in Greater Serbia. Traitors are everywhere.

Serbia never had a steady and permanent control over those countries, even at the time of Dushan the Strong. Serbians emigrated to the countries mentioned above and were welcomed by Croats to share their destinies. In the second half of the nineteenth century they played a more important rôle in politics. Their leaders in the Bosnian insurrection wanted to occupy those two countries and divide them between the two principalities of Serbia and Montenegro, or establish a new Serbian kingdom, but Britain and France nipped their hope in the bud.

The Croats are mostly Catholics, and as such are disliked by the Serbs, who do not know yet what it means to respect the religious convictions of their neighbors. The Catholics in Serbia itself are under the jurisdiction of the See of



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, WITH OTHER SERB AND CROAT PROVINCES, WHOSE ANNEXATION BY AUSTRIA WAS A PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE WAR.

Djakovo, in Croatia-Slavonia, and their Bishop never dared to pay them a pastoral visit. In the conquered Macedonia after the Balkan war was over, all the Catholic schools in the province were closed by order of the Government, and priests were interfered with in their pastoral work before and after the conclusion of the Concordat with the Holy See. All the Croats know well that if a Greater Serbia were formed they would, over night, by a Government order, be converted into Serbs. Religious freedom would be an imaginary and futile thing existing at the pleasure of Government parasites, as is shown by the fact that Catholics were not allowed in Serbia proper to erect a church building in which to worship God, and were forced to conduct services in the Chapel of the Austrian legation.

The Serbian Foreign Minister, Dr. Milovanovich, on Jan. 2, 1909, declared in the Skuptschina that the fate of Bosnia would be not merely an eminently Serbian, but also a European question, and

argued that the mission of Austria-Hungary in the Balkan Peninsula was now at an end. But the rivers Danube and Save must at all costs remain the legal boundary between the Hapsburg Monarchy and Serbia. By this he avowed his desire to give up a part of Greater Serbia, namely Croatia and Slavonia, to Serbian friends, the Magyars.

The Serbian press does not know self-restraint, nor has it a sense of proportion. "Either Europe must concede our demands," wrote *Politika* on Feb. 6, 1909, "or it will come to a fearful and bloody war." *Samouprava*, the official organ of the Serbian Government on Feb. 2, was not less violent in its communiqué appealing to the signatory powers of the Berlin Treaty. The powers at the initiative of France made a joint representation at Belgrade, urging Serbia not to insist on her territorial demands. On the 27th of March, 1909, Serbia acknowledged the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a *fait accompli*.

The Mohammedans in Bosnia avow at

present their national dependence on Croatia, and accept the program of the Croatian Party of Right, the most popular and strongest party in these countries. The Pan-Serb idea cannot reach the imagination of the Mohammedans, nor attract them to advocate it.

From the outset our explanations and reasoning show that Bosnia and Herzegovina are Croat countries. The present war in Europe will bring changes in the boundaries of that part of the Balkans. The Serbians expect and are working through the diplomatic channels of the Entente Powers to create a Greater Serbia. If they succeed, peace in that section of Europe never will be permanent; for the Serbs are not likely to diminish or quench the flames of their religious or national fanaticism.

What, then, would happen if Bosnia and Herzegovina should fall to Serbia? In answer let us quote a well-considered authority: "People in this country are apt to ignore the question altogether, or at least to say, 'Oh, yes, of course, if the Allies win, the Serbs will get Bosnia.' Those who talk thus have not grasped the elements of the great problem, of which Bosnia, like Serbia itself, is only one section. The idea that to transfer Bosnia alone from Austria-Hungary to Serbian hands would settle anything whatever, fatally ignores alike the laws of geography and those considerations

of national sentiment which dominate politics in Southeastern Europe. 'In every respect Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia complement each other.' The acquisition of Bosnia by Serbia would at once compel the latter, willy-nilly, to aspire to possess Dalmatia.

It was possible before 1878, and a decade after, when there were no railways or other modern means of communication in the Balkans, with Bosnia stifled under Turkish rule, to keep national consciousness inactive, to foster local or provincial patriotism, with the effect of keeping the countries or States separated, even though it was unnatural. But in our time the situation is radically changed; the sentiment is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the people that in union is strength, and the solution of the problem should be effected through natural channels as they have existed in the past, all warranted by present conditions and justified by international law. Let every one have his own, and there will be peace in Bosnia, as runs a common proverb among Croats. The small nations have a right to existence and to work out their own destinies according to the laws of nature and its Author.

NOTE.—The Serbian Skuptschina, (Parliament,) which was abolished when the country was conquered, was convoked on Aug. 3, 1916, by the Serbian Government *de facto* at Corfu, with the sanction of King Peter.



# The Russian Campaign In Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

**A**LL the Russian movements, whether into Turkey or into Persia, started from Transcaucasia, whose northern boundary, the Caucasus Mountains, marks the dividing line between Europe and Asia. These mountains resemble the Pyrenees in Spain, and stretch from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea. The main railway of the province runs parallel with them from Baku to Batum. Another railway runs south from Tiflis, on the main system, to Alexandropol, whence it branches off—one section, via Kars, to the Turkish border, and the other, via Erivan, to Julfa, on the Persian frontier.

Baku is connected with the railways of Southern Russia by a line running north along the western shore of the Caspian Sea, and by steamer with the railways of Siberia at Krasnovodsk, on the opposite shore. It is apparent, therefore, that Russia has ample facilities for sending to the front in Turkey and in Persia whatever troops may be necessary for her military purpose.

The southern part of the province is taken up by a portion of the highlands of Armenia, the remainder extending beyond the frontier and covering most of Turkish Armenia and a little of North-west Persia. It is here that the main armies of Russia and Turkey have been contending with each other.

## HIGHLANDS OF ARMENIA

The present political boundary between Turkey and Russia is purely conventional, and for our present purpose may be disregarded. The same kind of country—the highlands of Armenia—is met with on both sides of the border. It is characterized by an exalted prolongation of the Persian plateau, sometimes flat and sometimes undulating, with rich pastures at an elevation of 5,000 to 6,000 feet. From this rise numerous bare mountain ranges, with an average elevation of 8,500 to 10,000 feet, while an occasional

peak attains the line of perpetual snow—like Mount Ararat, (16,930 feet.) The annual rainfall is less than twelve inches, and the climate presents extremes of heat and cold in Summer and Winter.

On the southeastern and southern sides the highlands descend through a series of terraces to the plateau of Persia and the plains of Mesopotamia, while on their western side they break down in gradation to the plateau of Anatolia, (Asia Minor.) The head waters of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers rise in these mountains, but, as they pass through deep mountain gorges, they are of little benefit to army transportation, although the natives use rafts when coming down stream.

## WAR IN THE HIGHLANDS

Turkey opened the war of conquest she had sought by dispatching the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Army Corps, under General Liman von Sanders of the German Army, to drive the Russians beyond the Caucasus Mountains. The time was well chosen. The Russians had met with their early reverse in East Prussia and might be expected to be too preoccupied on their western front to meet an attack in their rear.

The plan of campaign was skillfully conceived, but its operation was badly timed, with the result that the Ninth Corps was overwhelmed at Sari Kamish, the Eleventh Corps driven back on Erzerum, and the Tenth Corps left in the air at Ardahan in an attempt to isolate the fortress city of Kars. In due course, the Tenth Corps was defeated and, in its retreat up the valley of the Chorakh, cut to pieces by the pursuing Cossacks.

The Twelfth Army Corps, from its base at Mosul, invaded Persia in January, 1915, by following the caravan road to Urmia, and hence to Tabriz, but was driven back later.

The Russians did not follow up their victory, but remained on the defensive

throughout the year 1915. Their efforts were mainly directed to holding their own frontier, to guarding the caravan route into Northern Persia, and to setting free as many troops as possible for their campaign in Europe.

In the Fall of the year Grand Duke Nicholas appeared on the scene and took hold of affairs. Nothing further was heard of him until the approach of the Russian new year—about a fortnight after ours—when the whole front began to agitate. On Jan. 10, 1916, the Russian right wing drove in the Turkish outposts and occupied Arkhava, on the Black Sea.

The Russian centre, which held the line from Lake Tortum to Alasgerd, was ordered to attack the opposing Turks, and after a three days' battle they were decisively beaten and retired on Erzerum, Kopri-Koi, and Hassankala fell in succession, and at the last-mentioned place 1,500 prisoners were taken, with much booty. The Russian Army was now within striking distance of Deve Boyun, the famous ridge, 6,860 feet high, which lies across the main road leading into Erzerum. It stands some 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the plateau, and was guarded by eleven forts.

On Feb. 12 the bombardment began. While one Russian army was engaged in a frontal attack, another swept down from the north and cut off part of the Tenth Turkish Army Corps, and yet another army turned the southern defenses of Erzerum through a mountain region where the Turks deemed it impossible for them to advance, and had neglected its defense.

The main assault lasted five days, and on Feb. 16 Grand Duke Nicholas reported to the Czar that Erzerum, the eastern gate of Asia Minor, had fallen to the valor of his Siberian troops.

This feat will rank high in military history, and may be compared with Napoleon's crossing of the Alps.

Meanwhile, the Russian right and left wings attacked simultaneously with their centre. The former drove the Turks, in the Lake Tortum district, back in disorganized flight to Erzerum, while the latter outfought its opponents and occupied Khryskale, and later Mush.

On leaving Erzerum, the Turkish Army broke up into three separate and unconnected bodies, one taking the road to Trebizond, on the Black Sea, another taking the main road due west to Erzingan, and the third retiring south along the road to Mush. The Russian armies conformed to these directions and followed in pursuit.

On Feb. 18, Ispir, on the Chorakh River, was captured; and on March 2 the important town of Bitlis was carried by assault during a snowstorm. Here 2,000 prisoners and twenty guns were taken. The defeated right wing retired on Sert, covering the partially built railway line from Aleppo to Mosul, the passage of the Tigris River, and the road to Diarbekr—the security of which is essential to the safety of the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia.

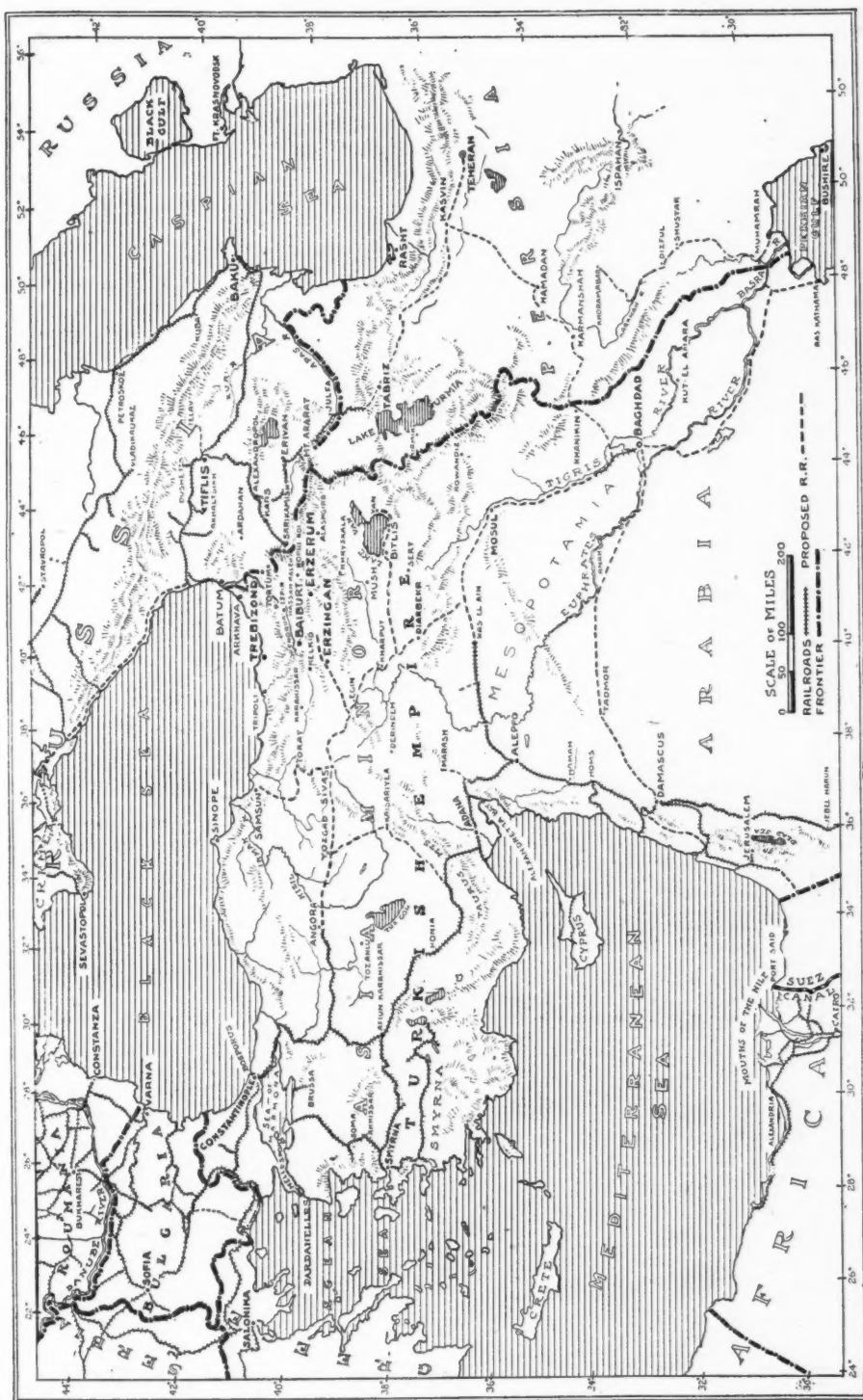
The Russian right wing, however, was held up by the Turks strongly posted among the razor-backed mountains and gorges in the vicinity of Baiburt, who were defending the road to Trebizond. The scene now shifts to the coastal region.

#### THE BLACK SEA LITTORAL

All the way along the southern shore of the Black Sea from the Russian frontier to the Bosphorus, a range of high, rugged mountains runs parallel with the coast. In places it reaches down to the seashore, and nowhere are the lowlands wider than fifty miles. Generally they are very much less. The climate on the sea front is mild. Russia has marked this region out as one of her spoils from this war, and intends that it shall be to her people what the south of France is to Western Europe.

These favored lands were, in olden times, developed as Greek colonies. The coast range, then as now, shut off communication with the interior of the mainland except by a road from Trebizond to Erzerum and another from Samsun to Angora. Intercommunication between the coastal towns was maintained by a rough road along the shore, or by vessel oversea.

The Russians, finding their right wing hung up in its advance on Trebizond by



MAP OF ASIATIC TURKEY AND PERSIA, SHOWING THE WHOLE VAST EXTENT OF THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN UNDER GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

the Turks strongly posted in the hills covering the crossing of the Chorakh River at Baiburt, had recourse to their effective command of the Black Sea. An independent force, dispatched either from Batum or Sebastopol, was landed on March 4, under cover of the guns of the fleet, some seventy-five miles to the east of Trebizond. Its progress was fiercely but ineffectively contested by the Turks at the crossing of Kara Deré, (Black River.)

The Turks withdrew to Trebizond, which the Russian warships were now bombarding, while their transports were landing more troops to the west of the town. This caused the Turks to evacuate Trebizond, and the Russians entered the city on April 17.

The road to Baiburt is still open to the Turks, but should they instead retire along the coast, they run the risk of being cut off by another Russian debarkation in the line of their retreat before they can reach Samsun—the next point where there is a reasonable prospect of offering effective resistance.

#### WAR ON THE TERRACES

In the meanwhile, the Turkish army at Erzingan, having been reinforced, attempted to drive back the Russian centre upon Erzerum, but was repulsed. The latter resumed its advance on Erzingan, the capture of which on July 26 forced the Turks to retire from Baiburt and cleared the road from Trebizond to Erzerum, as well as the branch road to Erzingan, and enabled the Russian army on the coast to progress rapidly toward Samsun.

The capture of Erzerum, Trebizond, and Erzingan has already practically given the Grand Duke command of all the mountain region to the south. His left army was lately beyond Mush and Bitlis, fighting its way down the terraces toward Diarbekr and Sert; but on Aug. 8 it was compelled by a strong Turkish offensive to evacuate both Mush and Bitlis. The plan of the Russians was to debouch on to the plains of Upper Mesopotamia and cut the Turkish communications between Aleppo and Mosul. This would leave the Turkish army beyond Bagdad in the air, although it probably

would, in these circumstances, attempt to retreat up the Euphrates to Aleppo.

#### THE URMIA FLYING COLUMN

The northwest corner of Persia may be considered as part of the Armenian highlands, with its mountain ranges and elevated plateaus. The country to the north of Tabriz and Lake Urmia consists of parallel ranges, deep ravines, and here and there fertile valleys. To the west and southwest live the Kurds—an important factor in the military situation. They dwell in the mountains along the Turko-Persian border, from north of Lake Urmia to the town of Kermanshah, and take no heed of the political boundary, which was settled over their heads by Britain, Russia, Turkey, and Persia; neither do they acknowledge Shah or Sultan as their overlord.

By religion the Kurds are orthodox Mohammedans, like the Turks, while the Turks of Persia are, almost without exception, unorthodox. The interest of the Kurds in foreign affairs is limited to questioning strangers as to what Russia is doing in Transcaucasia and what Britain is doing in India. In the previous year some of their tribes joined the incursion of Turks into Persia.

Grand Duke Nicholas deemed it prudent early in the year to detach a strong flying column to visit the Kurds and insure their neutrality, or at least their passive resistance. Nothing was heard of this column for some time beyond the fact that it was somewhere in the Lake Urmia district, when it suddenly provided the surprise of the campaign.

Passing through the unbeaten tracts of the Kurd country, probably by a detour from the caravan road between Urmia and Mosul, it emerged in the western foothills and surprised the Turkish garrison of Rowandiz.

The Turks hastily armed all the local Kurds and Arabs they could bring together and dispatched them, along with their own reserves, to oppose the Russian advance across the plain to Mosul.

The latest cables would indicate that the Kurds in the south, as well as those in the north, are disaffected. This will impede, but not stay, the advance of the Russian flying wings. It is none the less

a serious matter, because the Kurds in Persia alone number about 1,000,000 people who may now be assumed to be hostile to the enemies of Turkey. It may, therefore, be necessary at a later and more convenient period to disarm the Kurd tribes completely, a proceeding which their neighbors would view with satisfaction.

#### ADVANCES THROUGH PERSIA

At the outbreak of war Persia became the centre of German activities to embarrass Britain and Russia in the East. The propaganda was directed from the German Legation at Teheran and their Consulates throughout the country, and sought in the first instance to bring about a mutiny in the Indian Army and to inflame the Mussulmans of Afghanistan and India to a holy war.

Afghanistan is practically a vassal State of the Indian Empire—like the independent principalities in India—and a word from the British Commissioner was sufficient to have the German and Turkish emissaries there interned until the end of the war.

Certain Swedish officers in the Persian gendarmerie were won over by the Germans, although they owed their appointment to the British and Russian Governments. The Kurds and other tribes were armed, British and Russian Consulates attacked, and Persian tribes invaded British Beluchistan—some 300 miles beyond the Indian frontier.

The Ministers of the Central Powers had almost influenced the Shah to intrust himself to their protection when the Russian commander at Kasbin, who had considerable forces engaged in policing the Russian sphere of influence, warned the Shah in the name of Britain and Russia that he would forcibly intervene and marched on Teheran. The other party fled to Ispahan, where the Russians followed and arrested many of them.

Meanwhile the British landed troops at Bushire and looked after the southern rebellion. Bushire has been the seat of British power and influence in the Persian Gulf since the old East India Company transferred its headquarters from Bender Abbas. They occupied Kerman,

the principal town in Southern Persia, on June 12.

The Russian commander at Kasbin, having secured his communications with the seaport of Resht, on the Caspian Sea, whence he could receive reinforcements and supplies, advanced on Hamadan and drove the rebels before him to Kerman-shah. He occupied the latter town after some severe fighting with Turks and Kurds under German officers, who had come as reinforcements and sought to prevent a junction between the Russian and British forces. He lost it in June and regained it in July.

It is this Russian army which, advancing along the main caravan road toward Bagdad, is now held up on the frontier near Khanikin by a strongly intrenched Turkish force.

These Russians were within eighty miles of Bagdad—sufficiently near for a detachment of Cossacks to make a detour and join hands with the British at Kut-el-Amara—but the British, after suffering a long siege at Kut-el-Amara, and being unable to receive reinforcements or supplies, surrendered to the Turks, whereupon the Russians fell back.

While these events were happening, the Twelfth Turkish Army Corps from Mosul advanced in January, 1915, along the fairly good road through the Kurd country into Persia, occupied Urmia, and, skirting the southern shore of the lake, seized Tabriz, the capital of Northwestern Persia, and the most important commercial city in the whole country. This not only threatened the Russian left wing in the Armenian highlands, but also the great oil fields of Baku and the Russian main communications.

Russia was not slow in driving the invaders back the way they came, and her advance guard, by making a detour, as previously stated, surprised the Turkish garrison at Rowandiz and threatened Mosul itself.

The Russian engineers have since carried their railhead from Julfa, on the border, to Tabriz, which they were entitled to do under a railway concession granted by Persia previous to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. This enables them to open up a new base at Tabriz for the

Russian army advancing on Mosul, and to open new and direct communication with their army advancing on Bagdad.

#### THE PRESENT POSITION

It is apparent that the British and Russian armies in Turkey are marking time for the moment; and that the late Lord Kitchener was on his way to concert joint action with the Russian high command in regard to this theatre, irrespective of whatever other business he may also have had on hand.

The revolt of the Arabs in Arabia and their seizure of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina appears to have been engineered by the British as an effective and crushing reply to Turkey's proclamation of a holy war.

The Turks for some time have been apprehensive that the British may employ their large excess army in Egypt to effect a landing in the Gulf of Alexandria, or elsewhere on the Levantine coast, with a view to seizing the unfinished tunnels through the Taurus and

Amanus Mountains and the City of Aleppo. That route is the only remaining means of communication left to the Turkish armies in Mesopotamia and Syria, and, as it runs within twenty miles of the coast, their apprehension appears to be well founded.

Since the capture of Erzingan the Russians have steadily advanced in that region, but very slowly. Their left wing has met with stubborn resistance, and has met with reverses in the Mush-Bitlis-Urmiya district. Bagdad seemed still secure in Turkish possession at the close of the second year of the war. Flying detachments of Russians have sought to cut the Bagdad Railway in the vicinity of Aleppo, but no substantial force had gained a footing in that district up to the middle of August.

But when the Allies again get to business in this theatre of war we may look for dramatic happenings, and the early elimination of Turkey from the war need not surprise us.

### Remaking International Law to Justify Zeppelin Raids

Professor Eltzbacher, Rector of the Commercial University of Berlin, has published a book entitled "Dead and Living International Law," in which he argues that the international law which applied when army fought against army has become to a great extent a dead letter, now that nation fights nation. Seeing, therefore, (he proceeds,) that war is now waged against a whole enemy people, the justified aim of war is "to break the strength of the enemy people, this strength being the last foundation of military resistance." Professor Eltzbacher contends that any means that promises to be efficient may be employed for the purpose of breaking that strength, and he recommends particularly measures calculated to paralyze the psychic forces of the enemy nation.

Following up this argument, he asserts that "bombs may be dropped out of the air even when no purely military purpose may be served thereby and no economic damage caused, the justification being that fear and disinclination to war are thereby engendered among the enemy people and the psychic foundations of the conduct of the war thus destroyed." The learned author adds: "It is true that individuals will be killed and injured and private property will be damaged by bombs thus dropped, but this is only a means by which the nation as a whole can be reached." Herr Eltzbacher would retain one prescription of "obsolete" international law, namely, that which says: "The civilian population participates only passively in war. It is forbidden to resort to force in any circumstances." That is to say, the German professor argues that the civilian population must submit placidly to being bombarded from the air, but renders itself liable to be court-martialed, should the opportunity occur, if it takes any action in self-defense.

The Frankfurter Zeitung remarks that "as murderous inventions succeed each other very quickly, and one can never be sure of possessing the last and best, it will be very good policy to return to the 'old' international law." It does not quite see how this is to be done, but it concludes by asserting that "the legal system which characterizes as appropriate and as free from all objection the bombardment of open towns from the air, with all its consequences, might have conformed with Assyrian views and ideas, but does not conform with European ideas, and especially not with German."

# The Kaiser's Attitude Toward France

By Ferdinand Bac

*Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY*

*The distinguished French publicist, Ferdinand Bac, has contributed to La Revue a vivid study of the German Emperor, which seems to show that, not long before the war, the Kaiser warmly appreciated many qualities of the French Nation, and would have done something to lighten the lot of Alsace and Lorraine if this could have been accomplished without impairing his own prerogatives. But a few months before the war his attitude underwent a marked change, turning, as was indicated in a famous conversation with King Albert of Belgium, from partial sympathy to positive hostility. It is probable that the influence of the Crown Prince, as leader of the war party, counted for a good deal in this change. M. Bac tells how two French Dukes were the Kaiser's guests at Kiel on board the imperial yacht Hohenzollern while the Meteor was racing in the regatta.*

**D**URING the race the Kaiser held the steering wheel, buttressed in a rigid attitude; during a turn of the race he said to his guest:

"Good! I see you can handle the ropes yourself! You enjoy having a real finger in the pie! You are a genuine sailor! I have no fancy for great lords who imagine they must always keep their hands in their pockets, and who would feel themselves dishonored if they even touched a deck chair!"

When the lunch hour came the Kaiser himself waited on his guests, passed dishes of pastry, and poured out the port wine.

"I love the-sea passionately," he said, "even more than I love my army. I never feel completely free, except when I am at sea, liberated from all constraint. If it were possible for me I would pass my whole life on the water."

His noble guests noticed that he spoke very harshly to his Generals and the officers on duty about him; in fact, his orders were sharp as the crack of a whip, in true Prussian style; but, whenever he spoke to an inferior or a simple sailor, his tone became affable and good-natured. He loves to chat and joke with them, but there is always something artificial, an ill-concealed condescension in his tone. During the race two of the Meteor's crew fell into the water. The Kaiser himself took a hand in rescuing them, and received them in his arms, one of which, with withered tendons, was somewhat awkward in holding them. At last they were standing before him. He

passed his hands over their bodies, like a Custom House officer making a search, to press the water out of their jerseys; then he said to them, "Now, go at once and get dried; and don't think any more about the race!" But a member of the Kaiser's household, a great dignitary of the empire, seeing him thus occupied with his sailors, bent toward the Duke's ear and said to him laughingly:

"When a General falls off his horse, the Emperor never turns back. \* \* \* At heart he does not love his officers so exclusively as is supposed. Abroad, he is thought of as ceaselessly in councils of war with his helmet and his sword, surrounded by his General Staff. But in reality he only loves his lords, and feels at his ease only with them. And then he detests officials. Sometimes I have the greatest trouble getting him to confer with the diplomatists."

That evening, in the cabin of the imperial yacht, the Emperor himself confirmed this view. Comfortably stretched on his cushions, he said:

"France has not always been quite lucky in recruiting her Ambassadors. I have never had closer relations with any one than with the Duke de Noailles. When he was at Berlin, I used to come to his house at 8 o'clock in the morning, and go straight to his room. He was still in bed. Then I used to sit on the edge of his bed and we chatted for hours. It was delightful and in the best possible tone. We were comrades. The Naval Attaché was J. I have a great affection for him. He was a real friend of

mine, and I felt as if we were fellow-countrymen; on the sea, at least, we are; we are compatriots of the sea.

"I do not think," he went on, "that many Frenchmen who have come into close relations with me have gone away with a favorable impression. But then there are very few with whom relations are so pleasant as with you! \* \* \* I tell you this in all sincerity, because I think it." \* \* \*

The Emperor went on to speak of Franco-German relations. This was some time before the war. Taking the devil by the horns, he said:

"Perhaps in France there are doubts as to my sincere desire for good relations with her. But there you are wrong. It is a constant and clearly formed wish. Naturally, not with M. Delcassé. But you understood the necessity of depriving him of power. If you did this, it was not to please me, I can easily believe, but to get rid of a man who wanted to correct the map of Europe without having the gift for it. What reasonable man would today think of forming a European coalition against us, without making himself ridiculous? For such a Utopian idea to be possible, it would be necessary for Germany to have incurred the hatred of all nations. \* \* \*"

The Kaiser then talked about the capital of France: "My sons are very fond of Paris. They come home full of enthusiasm. I am even convinced that it would not do to let them go there too often.

"It seems that they believe in France that I visit Paris from time to time. It is a fable that amuses me. I myself ought to know whether I go there or not. In what disguise—with a false beard and black spectacles? No, I have not been in Paris since 1886. I stayed then at the Hotel M.—, in the Rue de la Paix, a quiet little hotel, very well kept. Is it still in existence? It was my mother who advised me to go there. \* \* \*"

Then the Emperor's mind turned to what Frenchmen thought and said of him:

"You say in France that I am theatrical and that I change my uniform ten times a day for anything or for

nothing. But this is the criticism of democrats who understand nothing of the obligations of the head of the State in a monarchy. My view is that every renunciation of representative stage setting is equivalent for a sovereign, and even for any power, to a moral abdication. Do not your priests wear a special costume, and your Judges, and your Academicians? At the Assizes your Judges take their seats in red robes, and no one finds that ridiculous. With you it is a last remnant of the requirements of other days which are still those of today. You will tell me that this is not so in America and that things go none the worse there on that account; but America has no historical tradition of decorum, and it is made up of several nations, while France is the most unified in tradition of all countries. You have a recent past, which was very decorative. These things do not vanish in a day. The disappearance of pomp is a very bad thing for you. Believe me, it is necessary to fill the eyes of the people. \* \* \*"

That evening, in the smoking room of the yacht, the Emperor said:

"You have not yet asked me, my Lord Duke, how I consider the question of Alsace-Lorraine. This astonishes me, for it is the chief preoccupation which I can read on the lips of every Frenchman I come in contact with. Well, it is without doubt a very serious question! What do you wish me to do about it? I was eleven years old at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, I found the situation there already formed, and formed by the blood of our soldiers. I should like to have a Frenchman put himself in my place for a single day.

"I have often meditated on this question, which preoccupies me more than you would believe. But I have not discovered the solution; you can well understand that I am responsible before the nation for this legacy which I inherited and that I cannot act without weighing all my duties toward every one concerned.

"I have thought of erecting Alsace into a Duchy; I have consulted competent men, the distinguished men of the province. Do you know what they

answered me? 'A Duchy with a Prussian Prince? Never!' What then? A distinguished man of the province, whom I should create Duke? Once again, No. They told me that he would be suspected and that he would incur the hatred of all the other families.

"I myself would never have annexed Alsace-Lorraine; I should have demanded indemnity of another kind. Today we should be friends. But what I want is not a salute with the hat; what I want is a warm grasp of the hand! \* \* \*

"I have done everything in my power to come to a good understanding with your Government. Everything would be possible, if it did not ceaselessly fear opposing factions who would exploit the patriotic chord to upset it at the slightest open advance.

"What would you have, then? We shall never do anything. Consider that in ten years our position will be still stronger, if we admit that we shall have nearly eighty millions of population. No one understands your scruples better than I do. I have a high appreciation for your patriotism, but I am certain that all intelligent men see clearly that an understanding between us would make us the masters of the world. \* \* \*

The meaning of the last phrase is, of course, that the combined fleets of Germany and France might be able to beat the English fleet, making Wilhelm II. "Admiral of the Atlantic" in reality. Later, he pulled every string in an endeavor to bring England to combine with him against France, still with the same ambition to be "master of the world."

A few months before the war, says M. Bac, Kaiser Wilhelm learned that a portrait bust of him, by a famous sculptor, had been refused by the Paris Salon. Shortly after this, while he was at Weis-

baden, chatting in the anteroom of his box at the city theatre with some Frenchmen, he said to them:

"Decidedly, there is nothing more to be done with you! You will have nothing to do with me—not even in effigy!"

And his Majesty repeated, with a nervous irritation, in which could be perceived bitter, almost childish disappointment: "Not even in effigy!"

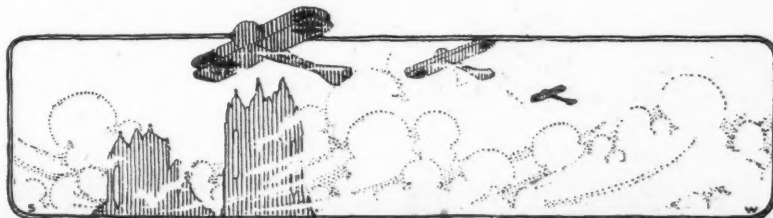
EDITORIAL NOTE.—In curious confirmation of the foregoing are the words of an eminent neutral who visited Berlin last July, and who tells of a conversation in which the Kaiser commented on the "British theory" that he was responsible for the war, saying:

"It is curious how this theory seems to fascinate my enemies. Yet, the people who accuse me of having caused the war are the very people who previously testified to the earnestness of my desire for peace."

He paused a moment, then continued in grave tones:

"I do not envy the man who has the responsibility for this war upon his conscience. I, at least, am not that man. I think history will clear me of that charge although I do not suppose that history will hold me faultless. In a sense every civilized man in Europe must have a share in the responsibility for this war, and the higher his position the larger his responsibilities. I admit that and yet claim that I acted throughout in good faith and strove hard for peace, even though war was inevitable.

"Why do you neutrals always talk about German militarism and never about Russian despotism, the French craving for revenge or English treachery? I think the next generation will strike a more just balance in apportioning the blame."



# How the Kaiser Was Forced to Begin the World War

By Paul Albert Helmer

*Directing Editor of Nouvelles de France*

*This study of "The Responsibility of the Pan-Germanist League for the War of the Nations" is the work of one of the most brilliant intellects of France. It was originally delivered by the author as a lecture in the Grand Amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, Paris, and has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY. In its originality of thought and its massing of evidence it must rank with the most important essays that have yet appeared on the European war.*

SOME months ago the German journals reported to us an impressive scene. Before a hillock which covered the bodies of German soldiers fallen in the terrible combats in Flanders, William II. had halted—the prey of a lively emotion—and, after a moment of silent meditation, he had cried out:

"I call God to witness, I swear it: I have not wished that!" ("Ich habe das nicht gewollt!")

What did this cry which the German gazettes have spread throughout the entire world, which German propaganda has exploited by reproducing it on illustrated cards, distributed with profusion, even in the prisoners' camps, signify?

Our enemies saw in it a loyal protestation of the innocence of the German Empire, cornered and driven to war by the malevolence of its enemies; among us and among our friends, many have seen in it the supreme hypocrisy of a man whose frivolous caprice had unchained on the entire world the most formidable catastrophe which history has recorded. The Kaiser would have repeated once more the legend of the concerted attack of the Allies, jealous of the greatness of Germany, against an empire strong and enterprising to which the future reserved a destiny of power, of triumph, of glory. Recollecting the factitious and theatrical character of the anterior manifestations of William II., many saw in his attitude only a new melodramatic scene played by the imperial Lohengrin.

In my opinion the sense of these words

is quite different. Give me your confidence for a few moments, I pray, even though you shall hear me say that I believe in the sincerity of the Kaiser, that I take literally his words, "Ich habe das nicht gewollt!" that, in a word, I believe truly that the Emperor of Germany, William of Hohenzollern, second and last of that name, is not the principal responsible author of this war.

And if today I dare to tell you my sentiment, the opportuneness of which may appear doubtful at first sight, it is because it is necessary that on the morrow of victory, on the sacred day for the settlement of accounts, we should know how to find and chastise the truly guilty; that in place of the wolf which we wish to exterminate we should not be satisfied with an expiatory sheep, which, perhaps, might easily be abandoned to us.

Let us search then in the place where our principal enemies are; let us weigh the guilt of each and establish in a precise manner the responsibilities. Seen closely and in detail events often take on a different aspect; battles which have been able to escape the distant or inattentive observer give the means of distinguishing between those who have prepared, decided, and unchained the war, and others who, after having made long efforts to resist belligerent tendencies, have resigned themselves to it through impotence or want of character.

## GERMANY'S WORLD POLICY

It was on the 18th of January, 1896, that, with a theatrical ceremony in the throne room of the castle of Berlin, with

his hand on the flag of the First Regiment of the Guard, William II. proclaimed his "Weltpolitik," the world-wide policy of the empire. Henceforth Germany wished to be present everywhere. In all countries, no matter on what point of the globe, no conflict was to be adjusted unless German interests were made productive, unless the empire gave its assent and obtained advantages or compensations.

But at this moment William II. had already held the helm of the empire for almost six years, and the policy which he had followed up to then was not that which suddenly he proclaimed on the day of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the empire. The tendencies which the empire had pursued in the epoch of Chancellor Caprivi, and which the adversaries had attacked under the name of "Caprivism," because they dared not yet attack the person of the Emperor, had been a policy of conciliation and of peace, a policy of politeness, of concessions, and of good understanding; of good customs relations with the States of Central Europe bordering on Germany; a policy of colonial concessions as regards Russia and England, which are practical countries; a policy of simple telegrams, of felicitations, or of condolences with regard to France, which was satisfied with its disinterestedness. This effort of international appeasement had its day of triumph when William II. inaugurated the Kiel Canal in 1895, and traversed it at the head of the representatives of the navy of the entire world, even of the French fleet.

In fact, no power had been able to resist the graciousness of the Kaiser. From what quarter, then, could have come a serious opposition to his designs, since even in France great journals were already publishing inquiries upon the reception they would tender him in Paris if the fancy struck him to visit the exposition of 1900? I cast neither eulogy nor reproach at any one; I state a fact which is not contestable: The policy of concessions and of advances, the policy of amiability, and—let us say the word—of dupery inaugurated by William II. met no resistance in foreign countries.

Had it continued, little by little, Europe and the entire world would have passed under German hegemony. In order to obtain universal domination, Germany had no need of a war.

### RISE OF OPPOSITION

But a people cannot change its state of soul. The Germany of Bismarck could not disown its origins. Created by iron and blood, it could not live in peace. Prussia, which was liberated by the war of 1813, which had imposed itself on Germany by the wars of 1864 and of 1866, and on all Europe by the war of 1870; Germany, which had realized its unity by violence, which had appropriated the wealth of others by force, which maintained its conquests under the yoke and threatened every moment to defend them by arms, Prussia and Germany could not accommodate themselves to a policy of condescension and concession.

Before William II. rose the partisans of Bismarck dismissed. They proclaimed themselves the holders of the national traditions, the continuers of the work of the great epoch, the trustees of the last wills of the founders of the empire.

One day, among his numerous pacific manifestations, William II. had affirmed that his "Christian conscience" would not permit him to assume the responsibility of a war. Those who rose against him were opposed to this mystic conception and formed the Pan-Germanist League, which, in contradiction with this "Christian conscience," assumed to personify the "national conscience of the German people," ("das Gewissen des deutschen Volkes.")

Then, on the day when William II. proclaimed his worldwide policy, he had, for the first time, abdicated his "Christian conscience" before that which was imposed on him as the "national conscience of the German people."

### TRADITIONS OF BISMARCK

The Pan-Germanist League, when it directed the German Empire toward worldwide imperialism, availed itself of the traditions of Bismarck. But among these it had recognized only the principle of force, the employment of threats, the reign by fear. It had not seen the limits

which Bismarck himself had imposed. The Iron Chancellor had brought successes almost un hoped for; but, without letting himself be carried away by the most brilliant victories, he had known how to be moderate, and, if he had wiped out some, he had adroitly managed others. Very harsh toward Denmark in 1864, inexorable toward the little German States in 1866, he had been very liberal after the conclusion of peace with Austria. He was preparing for his decisive effort against France, which he laid low in 1870.

And then he reserved all his strength for us, he followed with rancor and implacable hatred our country, which he wished to prevent from retrieving itself. Voluntarily limiting himself in his international action, measuring his means, coldly weighing the possibilities, refusing to play once more on a map the gain of three successful wars, he believed he had done enough for Germany, in the last years of his life, if he defended the empire created by him against the chastisement which his last abuse of victory deserved. France, even though conquered and mutilated, was still in herself alone a sufficient object of Bismarck's fear and resentment. This willing moderation, in his opinion, committed Germany to a disinterested policy in all other conflicts. On the subject of the Carolines he willingly accepted arbitration with Spain, and for the Balkans, for which Germany today is putting all Europe to fire and blood, he had had this scornful saying, that "they were not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier."

Nothing, therefore, was further from the idea of Bismarck than the worldwide policy imposed by the Pan-Germanist League, which nevertheless made use of his name.

#### PAN-GERMANIST PROGRAM

As soon as the Pan-Germanist League had imposed on William II. the official proclamation of German imperialism it began to develop its program in all its details. It established, continent by continent and country by country, the German interests.

It demanded all the countries where

the population speaks the German tongue; the Swiss cantons, the Baltic provinces, the German countries of Austria. But it went further: linguistic and ethnographical theories gave it a pretext to identify with the Germans all the peoples whose idiom is of Germanic origin—the Hollanders of the Low Countries and the Boers of South Africa, the Flemings of Belgium, and all the Scandinavian peoples.

In foreign countries where German colonists had established themselves, whether they preserved the German nationality, whether they repudiated it in appearance, their interests justified a continuous surveillance of the policy of these countries by the German Empire. Thus Germany reserved to herself the right to intervene in the United States, in Brazil, in Argentina, in Southern Russia. And the mere possibility of creating German interests, in a future more or less near, called the attention of the Pan-Germanists to Turkey, and then to Morocco.

Never in history, since powerful States aspired to the domination of the world, had an imperialistic program been developed with as much precision and method, with as much arrogance and impudence, as in the Pan-Germanist pamphlets at the end of the nineteenth century. But why has it been necessary to await in France almost twenty years to take cognizance of this appeal to universal battle for Germanism-Kampf ums Deutschtum? Why were we not interested in the danger which the meddling of Germany in the affairs of all countries caused to circulate in the entire world?

#### THE SEEDS OF CONFLICT

The Pan-Germanists did not confine themselves to the domain of theory. They imposed their demands on the Government and demanded the immediate realization of them. The Pan-Germanists called for a ringing manifesto in favor of the Boers; William II. telegraphed to President Kruger and caused misfortune to England.

The Pan-Germanists demanded intervention in Samoa and the Caroline Islands; Germany intervened against the United States and acquired these islands.

The Pan-Germanists demanded a port in the Far East; Germany occupied Kiao-Chau.

The Pan-Germanists demanded an action in Turkey; William II. visited the Orient, proclaimed himself at Damascus the friend of the Sultan and of all the Mohammedans and caused trouble for France.

The Pan-Germanists protested against the Badeai ordinances in Austria; Germany increased its army corps on the frontiers of Bohemia and obtained the abrogation of these ordinances.

That was a good deal to do in five years, but in the eyes of the Pan-Germanists it was not enough. What was Europe waiting for?

When, at the end of the Middle Ages, the countries revolted in Germany, they naïvely inscribed on their standard: "We wish to be the enemies of the whole world." Since the war of the Rustaids, Germany had learned nothing. On the threshold of the twentieth century, the Pan-Germanists still wished to be the enemies of all the world.

But in face of this menace openly proclaimed, before the challenges thrown in turn in the face of England, of the United States, France, China, and Austria, should the powers friendly to peace not have combined? Was it not necessary from the beginning to resist this turbulent and invading spirit which threatened the whole world? Now, far from understanding one another and organizing against the day when a war should be precipitated by Germany, the powers knit themselves still closer with the German Empire, and it was at the head of an army composed of all the civilized nations that Field Marshal Waldersee made his triumphal entry into Peking. On that day, by its carelessness and unskillfulness, Europe blinded, had committed the fault which we cruelly expiate today.

#### IMPERIALISM OF KULTUR

It was not Europe which arrested Germany, following the war with China. It was William II., who, having seen blood flow, cried out for the first time: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt." He repudiated the clamorous and aggressive policy and

disowned Pan-Germanism. Henceforth no longer by diplomatic competitions, by threatening interventions, by affirmations of imaginary interests or by coveting of new territories was the supremacy of Germany to be manifested. German imperialism in the future was to be limited to the things of the mind. He formulated in one of his discourses a new principle:

"Very far beyond the seas our language is spread," said he, "very far is stretched the flight of our science and of our learned investigations; there is no work in the domain of modern studies which is not printed in our language, science produces no idea which is not utilized by us to be copied afterward by the other nations. There is the worldwide empire of which the Germanic mind is ambitious."

These words resound like a blasphemy in the temple of French science, where I have the honor to repeat them to you.

In this new program which William II. established at the beginning of the century he abandoned the worldwide policy which had engaged the empire in diplomatic conflicts, in violent press campaigns, and in a distant warlike expedition. The new imperialism which he proclaimed may appear to us today as a bloody irony, a pretention which excites our most violent indignation; William II. claimed for Germany a civilizing mission; he proclaimed the imperialism of Kultur.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO FRANCE

The Pan-Germanists were not the men to allow themselves to be driven from German political life. From the year 1902 the Kaiser again saw in front of him the spectre of the "national conscience of the German people." Through the mouth of its President, the Professor of Medicine Hasse, the league complained of being neglected by the representatives of the official policy. "They disown us when they can," said he. "And that is natural, since we always demand an active policy."

During the Summer of 1903, M. Class, a lawyer in Mayence, who was then brought to the attention of the Pan-Ger-

manists, and who, today, is the President of the league, established at the Congress of Plauen the "Schedule of the New Course."

In order to investigate the mistakes committed in the foreign policy of the empire and to fix precisely the responsibilities, he studied the changes that had befallen the worldwide position of Germany since the fall of the Great Chancellor. The German policy, for a dozen of years, had been exhibited only by oratorical manifestations and half-finished doings. "As soon as they had run up against opposition," said M. Class, "they had recoiled so as not to quarrel or in order not to disown the pacific declarations so often repeated." This love of peace at any price, this seeking of the friendship of foreign powers, had robbed the empire of the universal prestige with which it was surrounded in the time of Bismarck.

Formerly, in order to impose the "worldwide policy," the Pan-Germanist League had directed its criticisms against the Chancellor and what it called Caprivism. In 1903, M. Class no longer deigned to attack the Chancellors who for twelve years had succeeded one another. These brave officials had merely executed the orders of their master. It was William II. himself whom he declared openly responsible for the downfall of Germany. Between the Emperor and the league, hostilities had opened.

The campaign directed against the pacifism of William II. was pursued during the whole year of 1903. In February, 1904, once more, the committee of the league declared:

"The policy of realities is not the policy that seeks to attain its object without hurting any one. What is necessary for the normal and continuous development of the empire must, if essential, be found and imposed at the price of a conflict."

And just then the league believed that it could realize much on condition of not fearing a conflict.

#### CONCENTRATING ON FRANCE

Formerly the worldwide policy of the empire had attacked all the powers; Germany had wished to be "the enemy of

everybody." This time the Pan-Germanists confined themselves to a single nation, and they had selected it with care so as to have all the trumps against it—a nation, said they, old and fallen, incapable of making war, a nation to which England would not come in aid—for Edward VII. was beguiling it with smooth words—a nation which Russia, its ally, would not assist—for she was occupied in the Far East—France, finally, which then had an imperative, absolute, unquestionable need of peace. From France, said the Pan-Germanist League, we could at this moment obtain all. Beginning with the second half of 1903, the whole Pan-Germanist action was concentrated against France.

Germany needed colonies, not so much to sell in them the products of her industry as to establish there the surplus of her population. The empire must have a colony for settlement, of vast territories toward which the flow of the German emigrants should be directed. No country would be better adapted to that purpose, according to the sayings of the league, by its climate, by its fertility, by the richness of its subsoil, by its geographical situation, than Morocco. It was in the Shereefian empire that Germany was to follow up the success of 1871 and assure the "normal and continuous" development of the State created by Bismarck.

Now, the French influence was at that time established in Morocco. The moment had come, said the league, to occupy a part of it for Germany and to force France to quit there under the threat of war.

The Pan-Germanists openly discussed this double aim in their meetings and in their press. But this campaign, which lasted more than a year, stirred no one in France. No one noticed it. It was like a thunderbolt when, after a year and a half, in March, 1905, after the fall of Port Arthur, the taking of Mukden and the defeat of Tsushima, William II. landed at Tangier.

#### THE TANGIER EPISODE

At Tangier, William II. had checked the policy of the French Republic in Morocco. France preserved the memory

of it as an affront so much the more painful as, in reality—the Pan-Germanists were right—she was then in no state to take up the challenge. But what matters today is not what the French thought of the incident of Tangier. It is, on the contrary, what the Germans said and wrote about it.

The Pan-Germanist campaign, after having persisted for eighteen months, had forced William II. to get busy with Morocco. But he was far from having done what the league had demanded of him.

The league had desired to make profit out of the necessities of a single occasion to aggrandize the empire; it wanted realizations, a tangible success. William II. did not wish to throw himself on France as a robber leaps upon a traveler in the corner of a wood. Since he would not let himself be tempted by the profit of the booty, it was necessary, in order to make him move, to shake before him the red rag of the "encirclement of Germany." And truly believing that he was defending the empire against a circle of enemies which M. Delcassé and Edward VII. were seeking to form around him, the Kaiser neglected the real and practical end which alone counted in the eyes of the Pan-Germanists. He made a speech besides, after so many others, when they had wanted an ultimatum addressed to France under threat of immediate war. Always hesitating, wavering between the interest of Germany and the fear of conflicts, he had taken an attitude odious in the eyes of the French, ridiculous in the eyes of the Germans.

He had treated France roughly, hurt her self-respect, opposed her projects, and yet he wished to conciliate her and had protested his pacific intentions. Before departing he had an interview with the Ambassador of France. Upon embarking at Hamburg he repudiated all the great conquerors of history. In passing before the Coast of Brittany, in order to please the little and the big children of France, he sent a telegram to Mme. Jules Verne. In Lisbon first, and on the morrow at Tangier, on the Balearic Islands and in Italy, he protested

his attachment to peace. The Pan-Germanists were right; at the moment of offering an affront to France, all this was ridiculous.

But again he had been awkward. Instead of allowing the Chancellor to act, he had advanced himself and, in his speech, had said what it was not necessary to say. The Pan-Germanists demanded possession of a part of Morocco, the acquisition of a territory under the German dominion. Now, William II. had proclaimed the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of the Shereefian empire. The day when Germany wished to occupy the Moroccan coast it would be necessary to begin by disowning the solemn words of the Emperor of Germany.

This is what the Germans thought of the landing at Tangier. Within a few days—in April 1905—a Hamburg journal used the phrase which will remain the judgment of history. In the midst of reproaches for having allowed a sure prey to escape, it declared it a crime for William II. to have awakened France.

#### "THE SHARPENED SWORD"

The official diplomacy of the empire tried to recover what William II. had lost. In the Spring of 1905 there was the resignation of M. Delcassé, in the Summer of 1905 there were laborious pourparlers to establish the program of the Algeciras Conference. France, awakened, knew how to stand firm. But, when the agreement was finally established, William II. had the unconscionable hardihood—for this man is not intelligent—to make new advances to France. Through the voice of the *Petit Parisien* and of the *Temps*, Chancellor von Bülow had to affirm once more the friendly dispositions of the Emperor. As on the field of battle in Flanders, William II. declared: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt."

France was dignified. The *Matin* replied by revelations touching the resignation of M. Delcassé. Germany's acts had never corresponded with her protestations of friendship. William II. no longer inspired confidence. If France had not at first understood the emptiness of his politeness, the vanity of his ad-

vances, the childishness of his telegrams on the day when she felt herself treated roughly, and was conscious of the greatest humiliation suffered since 1870, she no longer allowed herself to be decoyed with words.

William II. saw the policy of cajolery and of stupid civilities which he had so assiduously pursued with regard to the French definitely miscarry. This disillusion inspired the famous speech in which, full of rage, he appealed to "dry powder and the sharpened sword." And these words resound as a homage rendered to the pride of France.

#### GERMANY'S "ISOLATION"

At Algeciras, where the Pan-Germanists had wished to overwhelm France, Germany found herself, following the hesitations of the Emperor, confronted by a union of all the great powers. But it was not France which had caused Germany's isolation. The encirclement, the idea of which haunted the brain of William II., was the natural reply of all honest and loyal peoples to the dilatory and quibbling proceedings of Germany.

There remained a last awkwardness to commit, and William II. did not fail to commit it. He noisily averred the isolation of Germany in a resounding telegram.

Again Germany was the "enemy of everybody." So true is it that she will always bring against her a union of all the nations that have hearts. It is a case of the imminent justice of history.

#### THE KAISER UNPOPULAR

Dissatisfaction with William's acts was universal. The criticisms which he continually heard, the reproaches which the best patriots were offering him, at length decided the Kaiser to reply directly to the Pan-Germanists. In a discourse on Dec. 8, 1906, he made an appeal to the unity of the nation and asked the people to have faith in the future, not to give way to criticism, and not to doubt those who govern. "I do not want pessimists," said he. "He who is not suitable for the work, let him go away and let him seek elsewhere, if he wishes, a better Fatherland."

The Pan-Germanists took up the chal-

lenge. The word "pessimist"—"Schwarzschmer"—became a mark of glory. The more ardent one's patriotic sentiments, the more one enjoyed having the name of the Kaiser's disapproval applied to one's self. Besides the entire press, which replied to William II. and justified the discontent of the nation, resounding pamphlets openly attacked the Emperor. Count Reventlow, whose name in the German press of today still represents the most jingoistic spirit, summed up all the bad temper of the Pan-Germanists in his book, "William II. and the Byzantines."

From year to year the criticisms had become more fiery. Between the Emperor and his people there was an abyss. A conflict was inevitable; it came in the Autumn of 1908. Germany had just yielded in the Casablanca affair. Again it was the Emperor whom the German Nation reproached for not having dared to resist the calm and decided attitude of M. Clemenceau. But suddenly these criticisms were eclipsed by new invectives more violent than ever. The Daily Telegraph had just published the famous interview with the Kaiser.

#### DEFEAT OF THE EMPEROR

In face of the English people's mistrust of Germany, William II. had believed it to be his duty to address England by the voice of a journal. He affirmed his profound sympathy for his mother's native land, he recalled that he had never hesitated to translate her ideas into deeds; but he added that his friendship for England was shared in Germany by only a minority of his compatriots.

Indeed, the Pan-Germanist League had always denounced England as the great adversary of the future, against whom it was necessary to be prepared for a life-and-death struggle. She was the competitor with whom German commerce was clashing everywhere; it was against her that Germany was preparing a formidable fleet. Now it was to this enemy of tomorrow that the Emperor had made his protestations of amity, and he had denounced the underhand animosity of his compatriots by declaring

that his sentiments were only those of a minority.

Following these facts, five interpellations were addressed to the Chancellor. Violent reproaches of the Kaiser were uttered. A Deputy declared in the open Reichstag that if, instead of William II., another had done this he would have been condemned to penal servitude for high treason, and no one protested. Nothing could induce the Chancellor to undertake the defense of his sovereign. Before all Germany in fury, attacked by all parties, William II. found himself abandoned by all his Ministers and blamed by his Chancellor, Prince von Bülow.

William II. had humbly to submit; the "Monitor of the Empire" published a note declaring that the Chancellor had transmitted to him the remonstrances of Parliament, and that the Emperor had promised to correct his ways in the future.

There are people who believe—I read it quite recently in a great French journal—that William II. was, or is still, the idol of the German people.

Never in France has a statesman in office suffered what William II. was heard to relate in November, 1908. Never in France have our statesmen been abandoned by all their partisans; at the moment of their resignation, the day of their abdication, or of their downfall to the very foot of the ladder, they have always found in France intrepid, generous defenders.

#### LESSON OF THE "BLACK WEEK"

William II. had wished to warn the English. He had affirmed to them his sympathy, but at the same time he had cared to put them on guard against the hostile spirit of the German people. It was not only some few exalted persons who saw in England the great enemy of the future. The Emperor himself had been willing to give the alarm, and had denounced the evil disposition of the great majority of the German people.

And if England could be mistaken about the warning of the Kaiser, must not the reception given the interview throughout the empire been edifying to the English? What were they waiting

to understand? Why did they need six years more and the violation of Belgium to stand up before an enemy who did not even conceal himself from them?

In a matter of foreign policy, in order to defend the chauvinistic attitude of the majority of the nation, all the Germans united against the Kaiser. The Conservatives had denied their reactionary principles and their monarchical faith in order to discuss in Parliament some statements of the sovereign, the responsibility of which the Chancellor declined. The Social Democrats, who cultivated as a product for exportation a fallacious internationalism, were the most violent in branding the Emperor and his friendship for Great Britain with a hot iron.

Was not this unanimity of the Reichstag in November, 1908, a sign of the true spirit of the German Nation? Should we not have been forewarned of that other unanimity, which was displayed on the day of aggression and which astonished the world on the 4th of August, 1914?

But if we could not count on the people and Parliament, on whom, then, could we count to defend in Germany the idea of peace, and to oppose the jingoistic pretensions of the Pan-Germanists? Could it be on William II. himself? What could his power and authority still be?

#### DIVINE RIGHT ABANDONED

Royalty by the grace of God, that Divine right which he loved to invoke so much in mystical discourses, he himself had renounced when he had not accepted the resignation of his recreant Chancellor, when he had bowed to the censure of the Reichstag and piteously promised to be more reserved in the future, renouncing all personal policy. Before the threat of battle with the German chauvinists he had recoiled. He wanted no conflict: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt." On that day his spirit of conciliation was surely what was probably always his attachment to peace—cowardice.

I pass over Agadir and the questions raised by the Balkan wars. I do so with regret; for I do not like to pass in silence an epoch in which the Post of Berlin

openly addressed the Emperor as a "valorous poltroon."

#### THE YEAR OF SACRIFICES

For five years William II. had endured violence, and had remained in humble and modest retirement. The year 1913 appeared propitious to him for a reconciliation with the German people. The centennial celebrations of 1813 would permit him, he believed, to communicate with the nation in the memories of history. His own jubilee, after twenty-five years of reign, and the marriage of his only daughter, should they not be, in a monarchical country, an occasion for rejoicing by the entire people?

In March, 1813, the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., had signed the manifesto of Breslau, calling the Prussian people to arms against Napoleon. William II. had a coin minted in commemoration of this act. The King was seen on it surrounded by men of the people, and around the edge ran this inscription: "The King called, and all, all ran to him."

The Pan-Germanists immediately denounced this attempt to forestall, for the house of Hohenzollern, the merit of the rising against Napoleon. The German press told the Kaiser that history affirmed the contrary. Frederick William III. had to be forced to sign the manifesto; all, all had called, and the King, far from running to them, had yielded only hesitatingly. The jubilee of 1913 was to be therefore a festival of the German people, and not of Kings and Princes.

They will speak more clearly yet during the course of the year.

William II. did not yet understand that he must continue to be silent. In a discourse in which he had recalled the sacrifices which the Prussian people had made in 1813, he thought that he could risk an allusion to the sacrifices which the German people were about to undertake again in consequence of the new military law and of the famous war tax.

Misfortune followed from this. Whose fault was it if the year 1913 was a year of sacrifices? they demanded, and M. Paul Liman, who is considered in Ger-

many the best biographer of William II., answered this question by an act of accusation against the Kaiser:

"We may trace the history of the last quarter of a century on a Byzantine groundwork of gold," said he. "We may quite glorify what has been done since the resignation of Bismarck; the fact remains that the year of the jubilee has become a year of sacrifices. The appeal of the Emperor has asked of the nation what only the hardest misery and the extreme necessity which existed a hundred years ago could justify. He has, therefore, again destroyed the legend which attributes to the living sovereign all the wisdom and an uninterrupted series of successes, until the day when history imposes on future generations the duty of engraving the truth. No, we have not gone from success to success, we have not daily climbed new heights; we have remained epigenesists, and, compared with our fathers, a generation of small people." The Germans, if they decorate for the jubilee, are honoring the tomb of their most beautiful hopes. Also "we must examine the mistakes of the last twenty-five years and try to find the answer to this question: Have we truly suffered a second Jena or an Austerlitz, since it is necessary again to demand sacrifices which formerly only the victories of Napoleon had imposed on the German people? Now, we all know it; under the reign of William II. we have made no war; the arms have remained suspended in the temple of peace. It is, therefore, his policy," said the Emperor's accuser, "which has lost what today the sword should recover."

#### A THREAT AGAINST PRINCES

It was in 1913 when these lines appeared in which M. Paul Liman announced that the sword would have to repair the failures of the twenty-five years of the reign of William II. Only a war could remedy the restlessness which was felt throughout Germany. Discontent had become general. An enterprising nation, full of energy, proud, and aspiring to the domination of the entire world, had found in past years no sufficient satisfaction, responsive to the program which, for fifteen years, Pan-

Germanism had mirrored before their eyes.

They caused the responsibility for this situation to be traced up to William II., to his desire to live in good relations with all the world, and to conciliate antagonisms, even at the price of concessions and capitulations. But all these attacks did not correct the Kaiser.

In the course of the same year, 1913, he married his daughter to the son of the Duke of Cumberland. What other end might this marriage pursue if it was not reconciliation with the fallen dynasty of the Guelphs? The question of Hanover had been settled since 1866. The Guelph family, excluded from Germany, was no longer a political power. And it was in order to reconcile himself with a pretender without importance that William II. renounced the influence of reigning houses through his daughter's marriage. He might have been able by a more useful alliance to attach to Germany a new foreign Court like those that we see today, among the neutrals, pursuing a Germanophile policy contrary to the wishes of their peoples.

William II. had seen in this marriage only the personal and dynastic advantage, not the national utility; he had remembered a little German State, for a long time destroyed and suppressed; he had neglected the needs of the nation and the empire's prestige in the world. A new campaign was begun against him. At its opening the Gazette of the Rhine and Westphalia put the question clearly. This is what it wrote:

"We are intoxicated with grandiloquent phrases and are praising Germany with much extravagance at the very moment when we have fallen back into the system of the little States. But one day a part of the Bismarckian spirit might awaken, the desire of greatness and of unity might again thrill the German people, and if on that day we see that the Princes have known in their policy only the right of the Princes, the little States, the princely alliances, the life of the little Courts, then the national torrent might again become democratic as in 1848, because there would be no longer any other safety than to wipe out

all the Princes. And then perhaps the Princes will tremble because of the mistakes which their ancestors commit to-day."

To threaten that the national movement might become democratic and "wipe out all the Princes" was truly a singular manner to feast William II. at the period of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his advent to the throne. But that proves how deep was the dissension between him and those who were directing the chauvinistic drive in the German Nation.

#### THE PAN-GERMANISTS DEMAND A WAR LEADER

William II. had at length understood that he would have to efface himself. He preserved silence after the dedication of the monument of Leipsic, and when we recall the exuberance of his eloquence at the beginning of his reign, we can divine the mortification to which he had to submit.

But his effacement was not sufficient for the leaders of Pan-Germanism. They openly demanded another man at the head of the empire, and they could see growing from day to day the manifest opposition between the Emperor and the Crown Prince, whom the chauvinists were then pushing forward without believing very much in his talents.

"Every people wishes to be led," declared M. Class to the gathering which the Pan-Germanist League organized at the time of the Leipsic festivals. "It makes its greatest efforts only when the leaders pursue their ideal with a strong soul and a firm will. This leadership thinks in default of us. \* \* \* With all our vows we call for a chief who should make us forget the miseries of the present time. \* \* \* It is men of character who make history; give a leader to the present generation of Germans, and it will show itself worthy of its fathers. Millions of Germans await this chief, and with him they would go forward to internal reforms and exterior expansion, even if the world were full of devils."

Let us have no illusions. Even on the day of its defeat it is not in order to

have peace that the German people "will wipe out its Princes." It is in order to have the war which it has threatened them with.

#### HUNGER FOR NEW TERRITORY

In his discourse, M. Class had precisely stated the ideal which for long years the Pan-Germanist League had implanted in the German soul with systematic insistence and unwearying urgency.

"Here is our program," said he: "The journey to Versailles is not the end of the development of the German Empire, it is merely a resting place; to tell the truth, it is but the commencement of a larger grouping of all the Germans of Central Europe in a unity which may permit them to resist all the tempests of the future."

But in order to realize this program, it was necessary to have the courage to recognize the needs of the hour and to face even war. The Emperor dares not; he speaks of sacrifices, of concessions, of renunciations.

"At the price of renunciations," declared the President of the Pan-Germanist League, "we could enjoy the friendship of the entire world. But we are not willing to and must not renounce."

"Already we hear among all classes of our people, but especially among the informed bourgeoisie, this question: Why are we making immense sacrifices for our fleet and our army if we do not demand and do not obtain anything? The Government cannot be mistaken on the meaning of this question. Our fleet is powerful enough to make England fear it; our army is again at the height of its mission. And under these conditions should we practice a policy of renunciation? \* \* \* The hunger for new territories is characteristic of our period; it must be satiated. The necessity of satisfying it gives to our people a task which will lead them to a high flight. The Government will have to thank Providence for it. The task consists in working so that this instinctive hunger for territory, such as exists among the masses, shall become a conscious and energetic will, a violent and irresistible decision to procure for our people what it needs, for its existence, for its health."

#### UNANIMITY OF THE PEOPLE

Such was the spirit of the Pan-Germanist League in the year which preceded the war. Foreign countries were mistaken regarding the influence which the Pan-Germanists could have on the German people and on the decisions of the Government. Nevertheless, incidents were repeated from month to month and were exploited by the chauvinistic press to excite all the passions of the masses. Merely with regard to France I could recall, in the space of twenty months, the squabbles at Nancy, the tour of France by the Zeppelin which had to land at Lunéville, the incessant campaign of lies against the Foreign Legion, the preparation of numerous papers on the tribulations of the Germans in Morocco, the affair of Saverne, with the insult, not taken up, to the French flag—and I omit the rest.

The vote on the military law of 1913 made manifest the complete harmony which existed between the people and the Generals: "The nation," stated the Pan-Germanist organs, "has proved by a crushing majority that it did not wish to know anything of the debilitating idea of an eternal peace."

Indeed, everybody in Germany wanted war.

The Generals and the Admirals, who did not wish to have worked for nothing, dreamed of easy victories and laurels. They had shared in the direction of the associations which caused the agitation in the country; the Pan-Germanist League, the Navy League, the Army League, the Association for the Defense of Germanism in Foreign Countries, and all the others which, under different denominations or pretexts, spread among all the classes the same arrogant and aggressive spirit.

The professors of the universities and of the gymnasiums had not ceased for a century to inculcate ferocious hatred and contempt for the foreigner. To the execration of France, hereditary enemy, they had joined jealousy and hatred against England, disdain for Russia. The bad faith of the official teaching—I can speak of it since I have made all my studies in the German schools—this bad

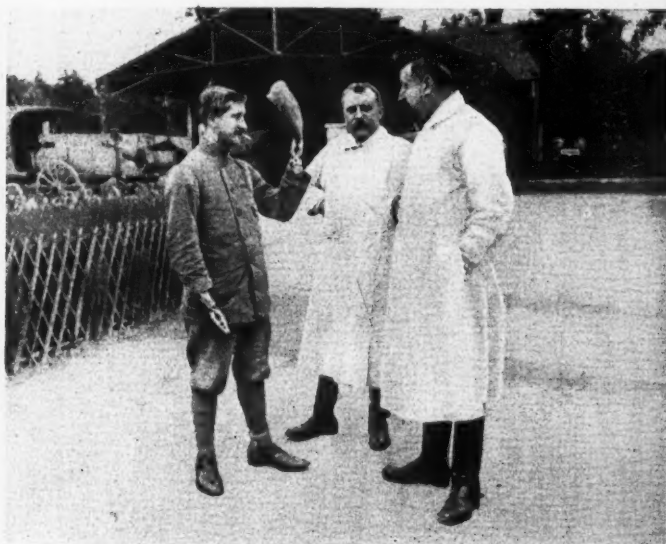
## WONDERFUL ARTIFICIAL LIMBS



**A Soldier Who Has Lost Both Feet, Yet Walks Fairly Well With Clever Substitutes.**



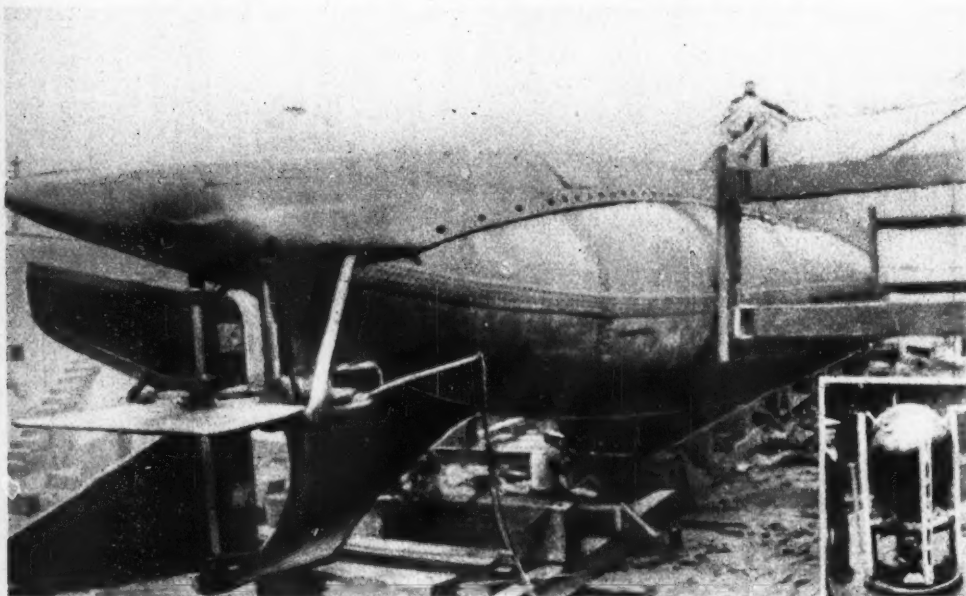
**A Mutilated Soldier Who Follows a Manual Trade By Means of Artificial Hands.**



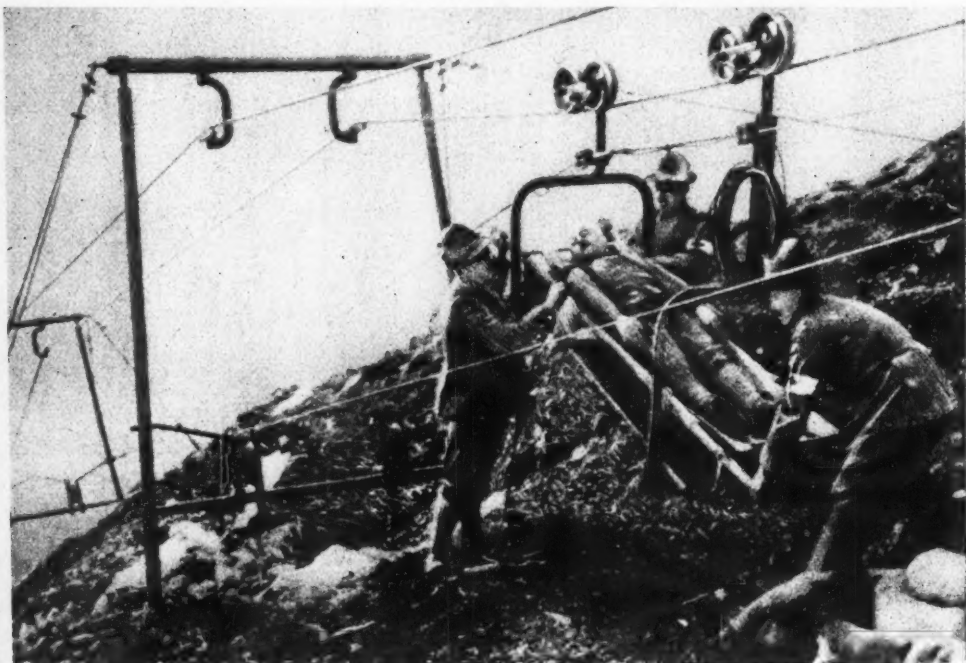
**A French Soldier Who Has Lost Both Hands, Yet Can Handle a Cigarette and Salute as Before.**

*(Photos from Paul Thompson.)*

## GERMAN SUBMARINE MINE-LAYER



The "U C 5," Which Was Captured by the British and Is Being Refitted in an English Drydock. One of the Mines Is Shown in the Inset.



TRANSPORTING THE WOUNDED IN THE ALPS  
Italian Red Cross Workers in the Mountains, Sending Down the Wounded on an Ingenious Aerial Trolley Line.

faith should not have needed the manifesto of the '93s to awaken the entire world.

### A WAR OF COVETOUSNESS

The army and navy purveyors saw only advantages in a war which would procure for them immense profits. It was in the country of the Krupps that we found the most violent Pan-Germanist journals, the most exacting and the most influential. The manufacturers and the merchants, intoxicated with an economic flight unequalled in history, counted on victories and conquests to assure them raw materials and open to them new markets. The financiers, rashly engaged in too vast operations of credit, discounted, after a conflict which would be short, the rain of gold from new indemnities of war. The proletariat classes themselves saw only the economic prosperity of Germany, which would procure for them higher salaries after a military triumph of which no one was in doubt.

All parties, all professions, and all classes of the nation had let themselves be carried away by the Pan-Germanist propaganda. How could the Emperor alone resist it? The conflict existed for almost twenty-five years and had only been aggravated; had not monarchical journals appealed against him, even to the spectre of a democratic movement?

Carried beyond his intentions by the worldwide policy of 1896, he had in vain sought to calm the chauvinistic craze. Forced to intervene in Morocco, he had been blamed for the awkwardness of his

journey to Tangier. Attacked in consequence with the utmost violence, he had seen his authority exhausted in face of the reproaches of the "pessimists." Villified by all parties for having dared to express his sympathy to England, he had to accept the remonstrances of the Reichstag and had cowardly submitted to a traitor Chancellor. Now, after a reign of twenty-five years, they reproached him with having dug "the grave of the most beautiful hopes" of Germany, they demanded another leader than he, they spoke of "wiping out the Princes." William II., who does not like contests, preferred war. M. Jules Cambon stated the fact after a visit of the King of the Belgians to Berlin. On the 22d of November, 1913, the Ambassador of France telegraphed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The Emperor has ceased to be a partisan of peace."

This conclusion, therefore, forces itself upon us: On the day for the settlement of accounts, we do not stop at the Emperor. William II. is not interesting. It is the entire German Nation which has wished the war; the whole nation must be chastised. The entire nation has agreed to the worship of force and has approved the abuse which has been made of it. The entire nation has shared in the contempt of right and constantly coveted her neighbor's goods. An end must be put to her arrogance, to her invading spirit, to the encroachments of her policy.

We must finish it with Germany.

## "He Is the Master Assassin"

By Joseph Reinach

*Special Writer of The Paris Figaro*

*Another French view of the Kaiser's responsibility, very different from M. Helmer's, is that of the brilliant historian and publicist, Joseph Reinach:*

**U**NLESS I am greatly mistaken, the question of the Hohenzollerns will become more important every day. It is too vague to speak of destroying German militarism; we must abolish German militarism's soul, which is the

House of Hohenzollern, with its feudal castes and all its birds of prey.

I have shown twenty times that the war is the personal work of the German Emperor. Exactly when he began to premeditate it perhaps even he does not know. But it is a fact that he had taken his stand Nov. 6, 1913, when he unbosomed himself to the Belgian King about "the necessity of war soon and his certainty of

success." It is a fact that this imminent war was the subject of the famous conference of April, 1914, with Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Konopstadt. It is a fact that finally, as accomplice of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, he with his own hand abolished all chance of peace, refused the conference proposed by England and the arbitration of The Hague Conference offered by the Czar, and declared war upon Russia at the very moment when the Vienna Government had welcomed Petrograd's proposals. And this though every pretext for war had vanished.

Since the brusque attack through Belgium failed and his bright dream of victory vanished, since German corpses strewed the earth and the German Nation is hungry and bears the hatred of the world, while the horizon is lowering with menace, the German Emperor is afraid, and says, "I willed it not." Then who did will it?

His feudal chiefs, his junkers, the Kronprinz, and his Agrarians willed it, too, but Germany of the Hohenzollerns is no oligarchy or democracy. There is one lord and master, Hohenzollern the Emperor. It is he who willed, who ordered, who began this war. All other accomplices—and there are many, Austrian and German both—cannot alter the fact that the Kaiser is principally responsible. His is the first place at the dock of in-

famy where others after him will sit. He is the master assassin.

The British Premier, Asquith, has also said this in a solemn declaration before the House of Commons in connection with the case of Captain Fryatt. He said: "The British Government will bring to justice the criminals responsible, whoever they may be and whatever their position." Surely in such a case the man who is the author of the system under which the crime is committed is the most guilty of all. Who is that man? Over a year ago in the verdict on the Lusitania a jury of Kinsale pronounced guilty of wholesale murder the officers of the submarine, the German Government, and the Emperor of Germany. All those Generals, those officers, those soldiers are only his tools and accomplices. They struck the blow, but Nero ordered it. As Mr. Asquith said, it is he who is chiefly responsible. He was the arch-criminal.

The conduct of the war is one thing. We will employ against the Germans every instrument of destruction they first employed against us. The conditions of peace are another. We will not make our peace a mere truce between two slaughters. We will insure the future of free peoples.

But with him who premeditated, willed, and ordered all these crimes—one doesn't negotiate with him, one judges him.

## The German Emperor's Appeal to His People

*Following is part of an open letter to the German people, written by Kaiser Wilhelm late in July within sound of the enemy's guns on the western front. It was circulated by the semi-official Wolff News Agency and printed in all the German papers:*

**T**HE battle is raging, huge beyond all previous imagination. Rejuvenated, perfectly equipped with all they want, Russia's armies again have broken against our bulwarks in the east. This has eased the situation for Italy. France has experienced a regeneration in this war of which she hardly believed

herself capable. She has dragged her dilatory English ally into joining the offensive on the Somme, and whatever inward worth the British Army has it now has an abundance of artillery.

The iron hurricane rages against our brave German men at the Somme. Negroes and white men come upon us in wave after wave, in ever fresh storms, wild and sullen. Everything is at stake. The ice-cold haberdashers on the Thames yearn for our holiest things. The health and life of our women and our children are menaced. Even neutrals must bear hunger. Only the depths of the ocean

now are open to us. Should we be victorious there is threatening a 'war after the war' when the best energies and power of the nation, now expressed by its joy in arms, shall be taxed to the utmost to meet raw force, hatred, and columny.

What, German people, is your duty in this hour? The army wants no exhortations. It has fought superhumanly. It will fight until final victory. But the people at home—this is their duty: To suffer in silence, to bear their renunciations with dignity.

Those at home are not all doing these things. Not all are alive to the tremendous seriousness of the times. Are our people at home the same people as at the beginning of the war? The writer fears not. Let us remember that this is no ordinary rupture of ordinary life.

It is the hour of destiny for our Fatherland, the hour which will influence us for centuries. We must unite in opposition to the entire world. We must all cooperate in the struggle.

Any man or woman who hangs his or her head or suffers despondency to enter his soul is guilty now of treason. Every word of complaint or discouragement is a crime against our fathers, our sons, and our brothers. Let us show the greatness of the German Nation. Do not jeopardize everything by petty squabbling. It is no time for internecine strife. But it is time for holding together. In this hour the best manhood of the nation, mature men and budding youths, are presenting their breasts to the iron hail of the English, Russian, and African hordes. Everything is at stake.

### The Kaiser's Sermon to Army Chaplains

*A chaplain in the German Army, Dr. Ott, recently published in the Vossische Zeitung the following portions of a speech made by the Kaiser to a congregation of army chaplains at Main Headquarters:*

It is a time of sifting. The world war divides and takes the chaff from the wheat. You, gentlemen, have to work to teach the German Nation to take things seriously and to accept the present as a time of trial. It is important to understand that life is a trial. We need practical Christianity to bring our life into harmony with the personality of our Lord. Live simply according to His acts and His deeds. Gentlemen, how fascinating and marvelously manifold is this personality! We have only to study it thoroughly. We must live with the Lord. Suppose the Lord entered this moment through that door, could we look into His face? Going to church once a week is not enough. He must become the ideal of practical life. Determine to live according to the Lord's teaching. You shall bring before us a vision of God, who now certainly, perhaps as judge, passes through the world. You must represent Him and show Him to us.

I believe that the men who are now in the trenches will be different men when they come home. Impress upon them that they must retain in the future the thoughts which fill them now. Everybody must admit that our nation is great, that it has without complaint or hesitation sacrificed everything for the great cause. This inspiration is derived from God. Give the men in the trenches my greetings, and impress upon them the need for firm reliance on God.



# Bethmann Hollweg's Peace Plans

By Maximilian Harden

*Editor of Die Zukunft*

Maximilian Harden issued another defiance in *Die Zukunft* June 24, 1916, against the press censorship in Germany, and incidentally in this attack on the Government defended the Chancellor from the bitter criticism of his political enemy, General Provincial Director Kapp of Königsberg. The Chancellor himself answered Dr. Kapp in heated invective in the Reichstag and is reported to have received a challenge in consequence, but this is not confirmed.

NOW, for almost two years, speech and writing have again come under censorship in the German Empire; a law is in force which became sixty-five years old last Spring, so that it is much further removed from conditions today than it was in the first hour of its existence from conditions in the land of Frederick. The underlying idea is to show the enemy that sixty-seven million human beings have the same opinion on big and little matters; expressions of contrary views must not be allowed to come to the surface.

In July, 1870, all Germans read this sentence: "The war is a dynastic war, undertaken in the interest of the Bonaparte dynasty, as the war of 1866 was undertaken in that of the Hohenzollerns. As the determined opponents on principle of every dynastic war, as social republicans and members of the international association of workmen, which, without discrimination on account of nationality, combats all oppressors and seeks to unite all the oppressed in one great brotherly union, we cannot declare ourselves either directly or indirectly in favor of this war, and we refrain, therefore, from voting, in the hope that all the nations of Europe, taught by the present unfortunate events, will do all in their power to regain the right of making their own decisions, and do away with the present-day military and class domination as the cause of all Governmental and social troubles." This protest was drawn up by Delegates Liebknecht and Bebel, and the Government of Prussia and the North German Confederation was not afraid that it would have a bad effect on public sentiment nor

shake the desire of the South Germans for union.

This confidence was justified. The war ended in a German victory, although all the major questions (origin of the war, possibility of foreign intervention, conduct of operations, right of plunder in foreign territory, form of government for France, annexation, bombardment of Paris) were discussed in comparative freedom.

Today it is different. And for that very reason the Chancellor should not be surprised at the great output of writing by those under ground. He was especially bitter in the Reichstag against two secretly circulated hostile pamphlets. "Invention, garbling, foul, lying, vile instigation, abuse, poisoning of the people, pirates of public opinion, slanderers." Rage drowned the counsels of the preacher Salomo and of Boetius, the consoler of philosophers, who said that anger should never jeopardize a dearly bought reputation for constant wisdom. \* \* \*

And there is no lack of mistakes in the two documents denounced by the Chancellor. That of General Provincial Director Kapp of Königsberg—head of the provincial credit associations—shows the seed of error in its very title, "National Circles and the Chancellor." \* \* \*

He champions the belief that "the enemy has not yet been forced to make peace, though beaten." Whom does he mean? England? France, who, since September, 1914, has maintained her main positions? And can any German who wishes no self-deception call Russia a beaten enemy after her big successes in Armenia and Galicia? By fostering

such mistaken notions the strength of our people for attack and defense, which, so far as we can calculate, will exist still for a very long time, would be lessened. Herr Kapp parades as truth what has yet to be proved such, and, standing on this weak foundation, shouts forth that the weak will power of the Chancellor is jeopardizing a triumph which otherwise we might win. The submarine, he tells us, is "the deciding weapon." He states unqualifiedly that it can bring the decision, but fails to state anywhere that the three Admirals now in favor agree with the Chancellor that submarine warfare must be curtailed. The Chancellor is accused of allowing "political considerations to overrule military points of view." Had he achieved the triumph aforesaid he would have fulfilled what Clausewitz called the highest duty of a statesman and acted as Bismarck demanded that every conscientious head of a Government should act.

The Government of the United States, we are told, has for a long time been unneutral because it has (just as we did in every war of these last decades) allowed the exportation by private firms of war material, (which it could not have hindered except by changing the fundamental laws of the land.) We are told that it is our enemy, that it treats Germany like a negro republic, but that it could not seriously hurt Germany, who is "financially stronger than all her foes," should it go over to her enemies. Everybody has read this sort of thing in a hundred papers since the day of the Lusitania, and every unprejudiced person must at least have suspected that the public refutation of such statements is impossible in war time.

The only new thing in this document, it seems to me, is about the food policy. "Fear of the masses of consumers in the big cities and industrial centres has forced the Government to a highly unfortunate national socialism." An unnecessary state of affairs. The danger that the rich man may buy away means of nourishment from the poor could only occur, we hear, "if the rich man ate twenty times as much as he could digest" —not, likewise, if he stored away enough

to assure himself for six months of the same degree of good living to which he had been accustomed in times of peace. Instead of suppressing trade and introducing repressive measures against peasants, we hear, artificial organization ("which is really complete disorganization and bewilderment of the market") should be thrown on the rubbish heap and unhindered free trade promptly reintroduced.

Need exists only because there is coercion. Free markets would mean free fixing of prices by supply and demand—the reader begins to believe that the free trader, Friedrich Kapp, is speaking, he who, after practicing law for twenty years in the United States, returned to the new empire as a converted Forty-Eighter and became the comrade of Bamberger. But that Kapp, unlike the general provincial director, would not have demanded "stronger protection of national labor," nor exaggerated appreciation of export trade, nor plural voting rights for Prussia, nor the "increase of the voting age." But he would have appraised the power of the United States differently, from better knowledge, and he would have deliberated longer as to what would happen in Germany if now, suddenly, this confession should come from above: "All the orders issued by us during the last two years, from Delbrück to Batocki, were utterly crazy—centralized purchasing, embargo, fixing of maximum prices, distribution of rations, fights against speculation. Wherefore, beginning tomorrow, the procedure customary in time of peace is to be resumed in every market."

Thus would the man from Königsberg have it. To follow his lead is to assure a paradise to the German Nation. After peace is declared (its terms to be dictated to Britons, Russians, Frenchmen, Italians, Belgians, Americans, Australians, and Japanese) there will come a "tremendous national growth. Rivalry and disunion within the land will be silent; intellectual and political leaders of our people will disinterestedly devote themselves, in thought and act, to the welfare of the Fatherland. It

will be wonderful; all that is needed is faith.

"Germany's mission is to usher in a new and happy epoch for humanity." Whoever thinks differently is not national; he does not belong to the best circles. Among the many genuine Germans of every class with whom I have spoken during these years of war there are at most three who come up to the requirements of Kapp, and these three never bothered about politics until August, 1914. \* \* \*

How easily his beliefs overcome reason is shown by his repetition of the rumor that "England, even before the war, demanded the dismissal of Herr von Tirpitz." Never did a Briton worthy of keeping out of the madhouse think of such a demand; as late as June, 1914, Mr. Churchill expressed a desire to confer with the admired Great Admiral. Herr Kapp looks upon everybody who wished, or still wishes, dignified reconciliation with England as a fool or a wretch. He is of the opinion that American financial aid "has a very disagreeable side for our foes, since the money is by no means given free." Enough! Even with a will as strong as that shown by the author one cannot find, in the fifty-one pages of his work, a single sentence worthy to provide food for thought to a politician.

The second hostile document does not leap from Pan-Germany to Manchester, nor prophesy a world power destined to bring humanity and nations unclouded days of peace. "Junius Alter"—so the author styles himself. \* \* \*

The German Empire was not, after the retirement of Prince Bülow, "in desperate case"; it was able, both east and west, to make protective alliances. But, if the situation in 1909 was "desperate," by what right is Herr von Bethmann to be damned to the lowest depths? He is accused of "unqualified love of peace," of being impelled to obtain "reconciliation at any price." "Mad desire for reconciliation and arriving at an understanding" are brought up against the Chancellor, who ignored three English expressions of a wish to arrive at an understanding, who put through an army

increase never before dreamed of, who declared war on two allied great powers and sanctioned the onslaught upon Belgium. What is said about the attitude of Serbia, Belgium, Italy, and Japan can easily be proved false on the day when it becomes possible to speak openly of such things. Herr Ballin (whose "close personal relations" to Herr von Tirpitz antedate those with the Chancellor) never counseled timid compliance with English or American demands, but wrote, on the contrary, that he must needs despise himself if he allowed himself, at such a critical time, to be moved by the business interests of his Hamburg-American Line. \* \* \*

And so forth. Good sense alternates with foolishness; weeds of error choke many a truth. Mistakes which should be censured are not noted by this critic; that which he deems reprehensible will appear to others—whose love of country is, notwithstanding, by no means more lukewarm—as worthy of praise.

On two important points both critics agree. They are firm in the rock-bound conviction that the war may be carried by military means to a triumphant conclusion; that the German Empire can obtain large territories in Europe and Africa; that indemnity for most of the war expenses can be assured to it; that only a man leaning toward submissiveness can fail to reach this goal. (Why a Chancellor whose existence and reputation depend on the hazard of war should be too weak to make others fight and bleed on land and sea, and to allow the strategists, upon whom he might shift responsibility, to go their way unchecked, nobody has yet explained. No matter.) Every wish for a worthy understanding, one that might organize peace and save Europe from exhaustion, is foolish or criminal. Whether America, a hemisphere, fights against us or not is unworthy of discussion. Submarine warfare is a certain means for the overthrow of Britain; after such a victory no conspiracy against us need ever again be feared. Whoever thinks otherwise excludes himself by that very act from the ranks of the patriots. \* \* \*

A holy nation of heroic, unconquerable

angels surrounded by murderers, footpads, and the spawn of vipers, all of whom—except for three comrades of another stripe—are but a hellish brood devoured by lust for profit—never was there aught like that! Never were there on earth the human pests which you have imagined, nor such an unearthly, brilliant victory as you hope for. No nation could stand it; to none could it bring fruit from which good could come. Only at the cost of its own ruin can one group overthrow the other—shall it be in 1917 or 1920?

We may be content with the harvest of the war if it airs and cleanses the earth, transforms swampy lands, clouded with hate and ringed around with envy, into the bright home of free human beings, living within their own rights, and, by that very token, respecting the rights of those around them. It is not easy for a nation fighting in the shadow of deadly peril to weigh true values soberly. Woe to him who makes this task even harder by wicked passion! He burdens himself with a guilt that will crush him on the Day of Judgment.

Have a care lest ye force upon the nation the phantom of your soul, hungering in its cage. Snatch, rather, the bandage from its eyes; allow the people, which gives its blood and will give its worldly goods, to shape its destiny in freedom; everything not small would be far too great for it were it, tomorrow, to be yet under guardianship. Rant not about growth and character, muscle, the shepherd's staff! Nay, free yourselves,

and your wives and children, from the lazy craving to be sheep, forever to remain sheep!

"I shall endeavor to have the censorship applied as little as possible in political matters only slightly connected with the conduct of the war." Solacing words of shepherd wisdom! Nothing but a few words, which can never become reality. Were every censor squarely responsible to every writer and to the people, one might believe in mitigation of the censorship. It is merely the visible sign of the state of mind which makes it possible; it is the fever flaming out of illness. It exists because legislators and press demand it; it would perish miserably at the threat of a refusal to vote war credits, to suspend further publication of a newspaper. The masked writers demand freedom for themselves, not for those thinking differently.

"There can be no talk, of course, of a hollow, premature peace, for that will hurt us abroad." More nonsense, which becomes childish in the sunlight. Whatever Tom, Dick, or Harry may say in Germany about the conduct or object of the war will not hurt us abroad. Naught will harm us there except the constant attempt to look like sheep obediently trotting behind the shepherd.

Right and left the foe is listening; but nowhere can he detect the voice of the German people. Could he but hear it, we should be near to peace, which is possible today, which only a miracle could make better.

## The Chancellor's Counterattack

*Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's Reichstag speech of July 5, part of which was printed on page 728 of the June CURRENT HISTORY, still stirs European echoes. The article by Maximilian Harden, which precedes this one, is a case in point, as is also the speech by Sazonoff, which follows it. The passages attacking the Chancellor's German critics have only recently reached this country, and are reproduced herewith:*

*After denouncing as "shameless lies"*

*the statements that he was in a state of physical collapse when informed that England would enter the war, or that he was opposed to measures prior to the war for strengthening the army, or that he could have won over Japan if he had favored a large loan to that country, he proceeded as follows:*

**I** MUST place still lower one of the most repugnant assertions. I am accused of keeping back for three precious days, against the wish of the

military authorities, the order for mobilization, which have cost us not only part of Alsace, but also streams of blood, and the striking of the first blow at the right time, in the hope, based on my old idea, of an understanding with England—I know that these attempts at an understanding with England are my capital offense. I have already spoken once at length in the Reichstag against these poisonous and insidious calumnies. I must do it once more.

What was Germany's position? France and Russia were closely united by an indissoluble alliance; there was a strong party of revenge in France; an influential and growing section, moving toward war, in Russia. France and Russia could only be held in check if the hope of England was successfully taken from them. They would then never have ventured on war. If I wished to work against war—and I have done so—I had to attempt to enter into relationship with England. That would have kept down the war parties in France and Russia. I made this attempt in face of an English policy of envelopment, hostile to Germany, which was also known to me. I am not ashamed of it, even if it has proved abortive. Let any one who, after witnessing this world war, which has now lasted almost two years, with its hecatombs of human sacrifices, tries to represent my action as a crime, answer for his accusation before God. I contemplate my sentence calmly.

But the efforts to come to an understanding with England had nothing to do with the mobilization of the army. I am accused of keeping back for three days the order for mobilization, and thus having caused the streams of blood of our people. Does not the obscurantist who wrote that know that in these three critical days we feverishly worked for a settlement of the differences between Russia and Austria-Hungary, and that especially the Kaiser, whose most earnest desire was the preservation of peace in the interests of the people, remained in uninterrupted telegraphic communication with the Czar? Does not this writer see that, if we had mobilized three days earlier, we should have laid upon ourselves that blood-guiltiness which Rus-

sia took upon herself, when she did so when negotiations were proceeding favorably, contrary to the promises she had solemnly given us?

This man, who is falsifying history in this way, assumes to sit in judgment over me! Tear away the mask, that we may see who it is that, in these trying times, dares to misuse the names of the German people and of Bismarck with the basest hints and slanders.

Another publication, gentlemen, the author of which bears a good name. It is the Generallandschaftsdirektor Kapp. This man contrives to assert that the watchword issued by me is beginning to play the same unfortunate rôle as in 1806 did that traitorous phrase: "Tranquillity is the first civil duty," issued after Jena. Where is that Jena now? Has the author no appreciation of the greatness of the present time when he warningly recalls Jena? Has he the impudence to call me a traitor to the State when in the struggle, above all, I can only see a united Germany?

Gentlemen, it is not, indeed, pleasant to have to defend one's self against the lies of a foreign enemy, but libels and calumnies at home are loathsome; still, I accept the battle and will fight it through with all the means at my disposal. It is not my person that is in question. What does the individual matter today when the entire fit manhood of Germany looks death in the face? What is in question is the cause of the Fatherland, which will suffer most grievously if mistrust and error are systematically carried round at great expense and with a great waste of printer's ink.

It may appear remarkable that I occupy your time today with references to secret pamphlets, but I consider it my duty to take care that the mind of the people should not be poisoned and to throw light on these secret agitations.

Gentlemen, I know well that no party in this house would approve of incitements based on untruths and calumnies, but the pirates of public opinion unfortunately but too often make a false use of the flag of national parties. Under the protection of this banner I am now attacked as a despoiler of the great national traditions of which the

old parties of this house are so justly proud. As a proof it is stated that I try to curry favor with the Social Democrats and patronize the pessimists. Again and again we hear: This Chancellor depends entirely on the Social Democrats and the pacifists.

Gentlemen, in this war in which there are but Germans, am I to keep to parties? I am well aware that the difference between national and other parties played a great rôle in political life before the war, but the best fruits that this war can bring us will be that these differences be laid aside once for all, because the national spirit will have become a matter of course. My hopes in this direction are confident and firm, in spite of the gentlemen around Herr Liebknecht. These will be called to account by the people after the war.

We shall have party strifes after the war as violent, perhaps even more so, than before. It will be a new era with new mental movements and new social demands! The time will come when these battles will have to be fought, but are we to poison them from the outset by continuing to operate according to the old plan of national and anti-national parties?

I see the entire nation in heroic stature, fighting for its future. Our sons and brothers are fighting and dying side by side. There we see equal love for home in all, whether home comprised for them possessions and riches, or whether it was a place where only their own strength afforded them a livelihood. This sacred flame of love of home burns in every heart, so that they defy death and face a thousand dangers. Only a heart completely dried up can fail to feel the af-

fecting impression of the great primitive strength of this nation, or resist the most ardent love for this people. Ought I to divide? Should I not rather unite? Should anxiety and care concerning the struggle in the future cripple the forces which we need to continue the great battle in the present? No, gentlemen, belief in and love for my people give me the firm certainty that we shall fight and conquer as we have fought and conquered hitherto.

Gentlemen, I must now conclude. Our enemies wish to let it go on to the end. We fear neither death nor the devil, nor the hunger devil which they wish to send into our country. The men who fight out there around Verdun, who fight under Hindenburg, our proud blue-jackets who showed Albion how the rats can bite, are fashioned from a breed that knows how to bear privations also. These privations are there. I say that calmly and openly, even to foreign countries, but we bear them, and in this battle also progress is being made. A gracious Heaven allows a good harvest to ripen here. It will not be worse but better than in the previous hard year and better than it is now. This reckoning of our enemies on our economic difficulties will prove deceptive. Another calculation was sharply upset by our young navy on June 1. Nor will this victory make us boastful; we know well that England is thereby not yet beaten, but it is a token of our future, wherein Germany on the sea also will win for herself full equality of rights, and also for smaller peoples the lasting freedom of the sea routes now closed by England's domination. That is the bright and promising light that shone out on June 1.



# Who Is Responsible for the War?

An Answer to the German Chancellor

By S. D. Sazonoff

*Russian Ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs*

From a statement made to a correspondent of the *Russkoe Slovo*, Moscow, which has been widely discussed in the German press. This was one of the last public utterances of the Minister before retiring from office.

THE substance and vehement tone of the latest declarations of the German Chancellor are explained when one remembers that Bethmann Hollweg had to defend his reputation as a statesman and his policies, not before some neutral audience, but against the rebukes and criticisms of his own fellow-countrymen. \* \* \* In an attempt to white-wash himself he has surpassed all that he ever said before. Thus, for instance, he does not hesitate to make the extraordinary statement that "England, France, and Russia were closely united in an alliance against Germany." In order to say such a thing one must be sure of his audience. It is true that the Germans, on account of their military education, are capable of accepting collectively everything told them by their Government as a revelation from on high. Nevertheless, what the Chancellor dared to declare no literate man elsewhere in Europe would dare to claim. That there was no such alliance in existence between England, France, and Russia is known to the Chancellor as well as to many others; but he thinks it unprofitable to confess it.

As far as I am concerned, I was personally always of the opinion that if Germany began a war in Europe for the establishment of her hegemony, England's participation in such a war would be inevitable. However, I was not so certain that England's entrance into it would take place immediately after Germany's attack upon France. The Chancellor permits himself to say that we, that is, France and Russia, would never have dared to accept Germany's challenge for war had we not been assured of England's co-operation. But in reality the situation was exactly such as the Chan-

cellor refuses to admit. Though loving peace and desirous of relieving the situation without bloodshed, France and Russia, nevertheless, had decided to resist Germany, and once for all to put an end to her habit of stepping on her neighbors' toes.

What happened then? As a result of Germany's clumsy diplomacy, the Entente Cordiale, with its loose form, has grown into a firm political alliance, bound together for many years with the object of defending the rights and interests of the powers belonging to it, and to preserve peace in Europe.

In addition to the many charges of the Chancellor, which are all remarkable for their bad faith, he also condemns Russia for burdening her conscience with the guilt of a bloody crime by her "premature" mobilization. Of course, the Chancellor did not consider it expedient to remember that the Russian mobilization took place after the full mobilization of the Austrian Army, and after the mobilization of a considerable part of the German Army.

The fact of the early mobilization order printed in the Prussian official organ, the *Lokal Anzeiger*, is known to all, and although the copies of that paper were later torn by the police from the hands of the public, the fact remains a fact.

Ignoring the methods selected by the Chancellor in his self-defense, I am ready to admit that it is indeed possible that the Chancellor himself did not desire the war and was not even its immediate culprit. But, should we even admit such a possibility, that will only make it apparent that the war was sought and aimed at by his many official colleagues. The conviction, firmly established in Eu-

rope, that the ultimatum to Serbia was worked out under the direct supervision of a German diplomat occupying a high post, and was immediately dispatched to the German Emperor for approval, passing the responsible leader of German politics, will but attest the fact that the Chancellor was not master in his own house. At the same time it is hard to entertain the thought that the Chancellor could remain completely outside the machinations of the enemies of peace in Europe, or that he could be entirely unaware of them.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg frequently speaks with artificial satisfaction of what Germany has accomplished since the beginning of hostilities, and carefully avoids mentioning the things Germany had definitely planned, and which still remain but a dream. A list of these unaccomplished things would

prove, in comparison with that of the achievements, many times longer.

By no amount of ingenuity can the Chancellor ever succeed in proving that the war was caused by Russia or England. The war is exclusively the work of the Pan-Germanic cancer which has been eating into the body of Germany for years, and which has now reached her vital organs.

To me, personally, it seems that at times both the Chancellor and von Jagow realized the danger hidden in that terrible malady, but neither of them had the courage to enter into a struggle against it. So long as Germany's neighbors are not convinced that Pan-Germanism, in whose hands Prussian militarism is the chief instrument, has ceased to be a world menace, so long is peace impossible between the Allies and Germany.

## Verdun

By EMILE CAMMAERTS

[From Land and Water]

La neige saupoudre les collines,  
La glace frange les ruisseaux,  
Les bois découpent leurs ombres fines—  
Vert des sapins, brun des bouleaux—  
La Terre dort sous un ciel sourd,  
La Meuse  
Noire murmure une berceuse . . .  
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Avril sourit sur les collines,  
La crue gonfle les ruisseaux,  
Les buissons chantent, les bois s'animent—  
Noir des sapins, jaune des bouleaux  
La Terre fait un rêve d'amour,  
La Meuse  
Bleue roule ses eaux furieuses . . .  
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Le soleil inonde les collines,  
Les prés en fleurs et les ruisseaux,  
Sous la feuillée, l'abeille butine—  
Vert des sapins, vert des bouleaux—  
La Terre se pâme au bras du Jour,  
La Meuse  
Claire démêle ses boucles langoureuses . . .  
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Lutz est tombée, Koloméa,  
Asiago et Posina—  
La Terre mange ses conquérants—  
La Boisselle tombe et Montauban,  
Dompierre tombe et Becquincourt—  
Tandis que, là-bas, la Meuse  
Rouge berce ses eaux trompeuses . . .  
Mais Verdun tient toujours!

Juillet, 1916. [All rights reserved.]

# The Kaiser's Message to America

By Alfred K. Nippert

*Judge of Common Pleas Court, Cincinnati, and Vice President of American Commission for Relief of East Prussia*

*Judge Nippert dined with Emperor William at the German headquarters near Verdun on June 24, and afterward talked with him for two hours, receiving an informal message from the Kaiser to President Wilson, which he delivered on his return to the United States. The following article is condensed from a verbal statement made by Judge Nippert to a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES:*

**T**HE German Kaiser asked me to deliver this message to the President of the United States:

"It might be well for America to know that of 3,000 inhabitants, women, children, and old men, driven by the Cossacks out of one town on the Prussian frontier, across the icy fields and snow-covered steppes into Russia, 40 per cent. of the children have died and 30 per cent. of the women. Ten thousand women and children and old men have been driven into Russia from the Prussian frontier.

"It is the fate of these nonbelligerents that causes me to express to the President of the United States the wish and hope that America, as the great nation which has done so much for the different war-stricken districts, will not turn a deaf ear to the call of the children and the tears of the mothers who are still surviving Russian captivity today.

"If America, with her standing among the nations of the world, could exercise her great influence through her Government and its President, to prevail upon Russia to release the surviving remnant of this vast number of those who have suffered, then America would, indeed, be doing an act of humanity for which my people would be eternally grateful. We ask nothing for our army or for ourselves, but fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, are standing in despair at our frontier, looking for the return of

those who are near and dear to them, and we are helpless.

"A third Winter of war in Russia will mean the absolute annihilation of every woman, certainly every child, who is being held captive in the country beyond the Fatherland. Here is an opportunity for America to invoke the spirit of humanity and bring happiness and joy where today is only sorrow and distress."

Judge Nippert spent three and one-half months in Germany visiting particularly that part of East Prussia which was invaded by the Russians early in the war. He went abroad to see how the \$400,000 sent by the American Commission for the Relief of East Prussia had been expended.

The Emperor, according to Judge Nippert, expressed much surprise that the American people, who had accepted as true all the stories of the destruction of Rheims Cathedral and the Hôtel de Ville in Louvain by the Germans, should take no interest, seemingly, in the wanton destruction by the Cossacks of churches erected in East Prussia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Knights of the Crusades.

"I saw the Emperor by invitation at his headquarters at the Western frontier," said Judge Nippert. "I am not at liberty to be more precise as to the geographical location. It was on the evening of the day of the Kaiser's visit to the Verdun front, and I had just returned from Rheims, that is to say, Zerny, a village just across the field from the Rheims Cathedral, and the nearest place occupied by the German troops.

"The Rheims Cathedral, by the way, is not destroyed, but, on the contrary, one is able to count every tile in the roof, and to notice every Gothic ornament upon its beautiful turrets or steeples. Remembering the fake pictures which were published of the burning cathedral at

Rheims, as well as the ruins of the Hôtel de Ville, or Town Hall, at Louvain, one had to rub his eyes when he beheld both of these structures intact and still used for the purposes for which they were originally erected hundreds of years ago.

"There is not a scratch on the thousands of ornaments that decorate the Hôtel de Ville, at Louvain.

"The Kaiser remarked to me that it was strange that Americans should have failed to realize the terrible destruction of the beautiful and historic edifices of worship, built by the Knights of the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries throughout the length and breadth of East Prussia.

"The Kaiser then added:

"Even Napoleon, during his invasion of East Prussia in 1807, and at the battles of Friedland and Eylau, destroyed only those edifices which were considered necessary for military reasons, and scrupulously avoided the wanton destruction of houses of worship. But not so the Cossack. He is neither respecter of persons nor of religions, and what those beautiful churches of the Knights of the Crusades have suffered along the Prussian frontier can be appreciated only by those persons who have seen them."

Asked to describe the Kaiser's appearance and personality, Judge Nippert said:

"The Kaiser is the healthiest mortal that—I was going to say—I ever saw. There is fire in his eye, he shows a quickness of mind in conversation, and an alertness of spirit that is amazing—simply amazing. There is about him not only freshness, and virility of spirit and mind, but I became conscious of his absolute optimism and assurance of ultimate and complete victory of the German arms. That optimism is, perhaps, the distinguishing feature of this remarkable personality.

"His complexion is as brown as an Indian's, his eyes are blue and responsive in their expression to the emotion of the moment. They never leave the eyes of the person addressed. He will put a question quickly, fold his arms, and stand looking you straight in the eye, waiting for an answer. He would rather have you say that, for some reason, either because you don't know, or are not

sure, or prefer not to reply to a question he puts to you, than for you to offer an evasive rejoinder. He likes a plain yes or no, and your reason therefor.

"I was struck by his fund of general information. His knowledge of American literature and history was a surprise to me as it would be to any other American who had been surfeited with misinformation concerning this striking personality, either through the allied press or American newspaper lies.

"As a matter of fact, the Kaiser is more familiar with the history of the War of Independence and the War of 1812, and of the lives of the men who made the success of the American arms possible, than most of the graduates of some of our big colleges whom I have had occasion to meet within the last two years. The Emperor is today deeply appreciative of the service which his distinguished forebear, Frederick the Great, was able to render George Washington, during the dark days of Valley Forge, and the Kaiser was particularly pleased to recall to me that the first Major General of the American Army was Baron von Steuben, who demonstrated to the American troops that the bayonet was not a toasting fork for potatoes, but an effective weapon of offense if properly used.

"The Kaiser had been at Verdun that day, June 24, visiting with his son, who had achieved a notable success the day before at Fleury. He was in splendid spirits when we met at the dinner table. The menu was simple and short. We sat down at eight o'clock. Including the Emperor's staff and others, the party was composed of twelve to fifteen persons.

"The dinner party broke up at 8:45 o'clock. We had been served with, first, a plate of clabber—the best clabber I ever tasted in my life. The next thing was pike, then came a plate of veal roast, with peas, beans, and potatoes; then a side dish of cauliflower, with gravy. There was ice cream, and the company had its choice of three kinds of wine—claret, Rhine wine, and a strawberry bowl.

"After dinner," Judge Nippert contin-

ued, "we all adjourned to the smoking room, and the Kaiser lit one of his favorite Turkish cigarettes, offering me my choice between one of those or a clear Havana cigar. It was remarkable that, though it was now 9 o'clock, the twilight permitted our being able, without artificial assistance, easily to read a newspaper.

"In a few minutes the Kaiser started for a walk, and invited me to accompany him. From that time until after 11 o'clock he carried on a most interesting and many-sided conversation, touching largely upon the relief of East Prussia, the work of the American commission, and the work of those citizens of the United States who are interested in the destinies of Germany; that is to say, those who are sympathizers of Germany in this world struggle.

"The Emperor told me he took no issue with those in America who take another view of this world struggle. He is broadminded and liberal in all such matters. He was interested to be told by me that, even though my forefathers had left Germany in 1829, I was still concerned in the history, traditions, and future of the German people.

"In my opinion," said Judge Nippert enthusiastically, "the Kaiser is one of the few monarchs who are real servants of their people. I believe it to be truly his motto that the first duty of the Hohenzollerns is to be the first servant of their people.

"What inspired his Majesty's acute interest in my mission to East Prussia was that the American Commission for East Prussian Relief was organized among the people of the United States for the purpose of aiding in the rehabilitation of that country. It has met with wonderful response from all sides.

"While Belgium and Poland had their relief fund, and Northern France its aid, and Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and Macedonia were also under the affluent protectorate of benevolent American millionaires—even far-off Armenia has her wealthy American benefactors—poor East Prussia had been left out. The ravages of war have been more violent and more uncompromising there than in

any part of the area covered by the armies. And yet, little is known in this country of the extensive material destruction which has been carried on without any military necessity or reason.

"The history of sorrow, distress, crime and devastation, the murder of innocents, the rape of women, torture of men, destruction of schools and churches, the burning of farms, killing of wonderful Holstein herds—it all goes to make a page in the history of the European war that, as yet, has not been read by the American public. There is no sadder story—none that should appeal more to the sympathetic hearts of a sympathetic nation than this story of Cossack invasion of the beautiful prairies and forests of East Prussia.

"It was this district that I was especially interested in," Judge Nippert continued, "and in company with the Province President, his Excellency von Batocki, who is now Minister of Food Distribution for the German Empire, we started at the Russian frontier village of Eydikuhnen. We visited the different towns as far as Stalluponen. There a large squad of Russian prisoners were cleaning up the debris of the ruins which they themselves had been instrumental in creating.

"While we were examining the wrecks of the houses a message was handed to von Batocki notifying him of his appointment. He immediately left for Berlin, and I was then put in charge of the President of the Gumbinnen district, Count von Lambstorff. It was one succession of burned buildings, ruined homes and mourning people.

"There is so much of sorrow and so much of distress in all these places that it is impossible to mention the details and the peculiar methods used by the different Cossack regiments in various districts. But the American Relief Commission, being especially interested in the district of Ragnit—the very frontier township of the Gumbinnen district—it will be of peculiar interest to the American people to hear what happened in that Benjamin of the twelve townships of Gumbinnen.

"To appreciate the situation," ex-

plained Judge Nippert, unfolding a map of the country, "one must realize that the northeastern part of the Township of Ragnit is the shape of a bear skin—geographically speaking—cut off from the rest of the country on the south by the broad River Menel, on the west by the swamps of the Yura, while the north and east are wholly Russian, densely forested to the very edge of the German frontier.

"There are only a few roads, and they are bad, until you come to the first German village in this district, which I have named the bear skin. The history of the bear skin is a history of tears and sorrow. At the beginning of the war 6,000 people lived there—happy with their children and crops. When the war broke out, between 700 and 1,000 men joined the troops, or the Government service in one line or another, leaving the women and children to attend to the crops and flocks.

"The Russians came out of the forest over night like hungry wolves and took possession of the entire bear skin. The bridges to the Fatherland were blown up and the ferries across the Yura were either destroyed or captured by the Russians. Five thousand people were literally marooned. The Germans were unable to drive the Cossacks out of these districts, and up to Feb. 15, 1915, they had undisputed sway and added a bloody page to the history of warfare.

"When the Cossacks left, of the 5,000 people of the bear skin district 3,000

were carried to the den of the Russian bear. When I say 3,000 I do not mean men; I mean women, with all their children. The men were at war, or had been taken prisoners by the Russians early in the game. This fate befell mothers with from two to twelve children, ranging in age from two months to 16 years. Little girls, little boys—neither sex nor age received mercy at the hands of these Russian brutes.

"The Cossacks gathered them like the Texas cowboy would round up his cattle and drove them along the highways into the Russian inferno. Mothers gave birth to children in the forests with the snow for a cradle and a dark Russian pine for a canopy. The children were buried as soon as they were born; a blanket of snow was all that kind nature contributed to cover the bones of the new-born victims.

"Let me tell you that there is in the history of our Western frontier during the bloodiest days of Sioux and Apache warfare nothing that can equal the story of the bear skin. I have in my possession records of villages, family by family, with the age, and so forth, of the mother and each of the children. And it is shown that of the 3,000 persons who were carried into Russia 40 per cent. of the children have died and 30 per cent. of the women. The Russian cattle cars and the Russian steppes are no more the respecters of persons, sex, or age than the Cossack, and each has demanded its toll."

## Lord Kitchener

By ROBERT BRIDGES

Unflinching hero, watchful to foresee  
And face thy country's peril wheresoe'er,  
Directing war and peace with equal care,  
Till by long toil ennobled thou wert he  
Whom England call'd and bade "Set my arm free  
To obey my will and save my honor fair"—  
What day the foe presumed on her despair  
And she herself had trust in none but thee:

Among Herculean deeds the miracle  
That mass'd the labor of ten years in one  
Shall be thy monument. Thy work is done  
Ere we could thank thee; and the high sea swell  
Surgeth unheeding where thy proud ship fell  
By the lone Orkneys, ere the set of sun.

# SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR

## Survey of Past Events and Forecast for Third Year by Chief Powers on Both Sides

*A permanently valuable summary of the second year of the war is offered in the following symposium. One of its significant features is the heightened confidence displayed by the Entente Allies, with Germany's tacit assumption of a defensive attitude. To the neutral onlooker who tries to regard the facts dispassionately the year 1915 marked the high tide of German success, while the year 1916 thus far has steadily tended to reverse the situation, placing the Teutons on the defensive and turning the tide of battle gradually in favor of the Allies. Germany's failure at Verdun promises to be the historic landmark indicating the momentous change. It will be interesting, when the end comes, to see how the official predictions recorded below look in the light of events which the third year of war still hides behind the veil of the future.*

### Proclamations of Kaiser and King

#### Anniversary Utterances

*The following proclamation to the German forces on land and sea was issued by Emperor William on Aug. 1:*

**C**OMRADES, the second year of the world war has elapsed. Like the first year, it was for Germany's arms a year of glory. On all fronts you inflicted new and heavy blows on the enemy. Whether the enemy retreated, borne down by the force of your attacks, or whether, reinforced by foreign assistance, collected and pressed into service from all parts of the world, he tried to rob you of the fruits of former victories, you always proved yourselves superior to him. Even where England's tyranny was uncontested, namely, on the free waves of the sea, you victoriously fought against gigantic superiority.

Your Emperor's appreciation and your grateful country's proud admiration are assured to you for these deeds, for your unshaken loyalty, for your bold daring, and for your tenacious bravery. Like the memory of our dead heroes, your fame also will endure through all time. The laurels which our ever-confident forces have won against the enemy, in spite of trials and dangers, are inseparably linked with the devoted and untiring labor at home.

This strength at home has sent an ever-fresh inspiration to the armies in the field. It has continually quickened

our swords, has kindled Germany's enthusiasm, and has terrified the enemy. My gratitude and that of the Fatherland are due the nation at home.

But the strength and will of the enemy are not yet broken. We must continue the severe struggle in order to secure the safety of our beloved homeland, to preserve the honor of the Fatherland and the greatness of the empire.

Whether the enemy wages war with the force of arms, or with cold, calculating malice, we shall continue as before into the third year of the war. The spirit of duty to the Fatherland and unbending will to victory permeate our homes and our fighting forces today, as in the first days of the war. With God's gracious help, I am convinced that your future deeds will equal those of the past and present.

Main headquarters.

WILHELM.

*On Aug. 1 the German Emperor also sent this message to Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor:*

For the second time the anniversary of the day arrived when our enemies forced me to call Germany's sons to arms to protect the honor and existence of the empire.

The German Nation has been through two years of unprecedentedly heroic deeds and suffering. The army and navy, in union with our loyal and brave allies,

GRAND DUCHESS ANASTASIA



The Talented Wife of Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia--Formerly a Princess of Montenegro--Has Given Valuable Aid in Organizing the Munitions Campaign.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE



Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Dominion of Canada,  
Appointed June 28, 1916, to Succeed the Duke of Connaught.

have gained the highest glory in attack and defense. Many thousands of our brethren have sealed their loyalty to the Fatherland with their blood.

In the west and in the east our heroic men in field-gray resist in unshaken fortitude the terrible onslaught of the enemy.

Our young fleet on that glorious day in the Skagerrak inflicted a heavy blow on the British armada. Deeds of untiring sacrifice and loyal comradeship at the front glow brightly before my eyes.

At home also we see heroism. Men and women, old and young, all quietly and bravely wearing mourning, and the anxiety of all who organize and help to lessen the suffering caused by the war and of all who labor day and night unceasingly to supply our fighting brothers in the trenches and at sea with the necessary armament.

Our enemies' hopes to outstrip our production of war material will prove as unattainable as was their plan to secure by starvation what their sword could not attain. God's blessings on Germany's fields has rewarded the farmers more bountifully than we dared to hope. South and North in friendly rivalry strive to find the best means for an even distribution of the foodstuffs and other necessities.

To all those fighting either on the battlefield or at home, my heartiest thanks.

Still hard times are ahead. After the terrible storm of the two years of war a desire for sunshine and peace is stirring in all human hearts, but the war continues because the battle-cry of the enemy Governments is still the destruction of Germany. Blame for further bloodshed falls only on our enemies. The firm confidence has never left me that Germany is invincible in spite of the superior numbers of our enemies, and every day confirms this anew.

Germany knows she is fighting for her existence. She knows her strength, and she relies on God's help. Therefore nothing can shake her determination or her assurance. We shall bring this struggle to such an end that our empire will be protected against future attack, and that a free field will be assured for the peace-

ful development of German genius and labor.

We shall live free, secure, and strong among the nations of the world. This right nobody shall or will snatch from us. I ask you to make this manifest public.

#### KING GEORGE OF ENGLAND

*King George telegraphed to the heads of Entente States on Aug. 4, the second anniversary of Great Britain's entry into the war, the following pledge:*

On this second anniversary of the great conflict in which my country and her gallant allies are engaged I desire to convey to you my steadfast resolution to prosecute the war until our united efforts have attained the objects for which we in common have taken up arms.

I feel assured that you are in accord with me in the determination that the sacrifices our valiant troops have so nobly made shall not have been offered in vain, and that the liberties for which they are fighting shall be fully guaranteed and secured.

*King George also sent this message to King Albert of Belgium:*

I desire to assure you of my confidence that the united efforts of the Allies will liberate Belgium from the oppression of her aggressors and restore to her the full enjoyment of her national and economic independence.

I also desire to convey my deep sympathy in the grievous trials to which Belgium is so unjustly subjected and which she has borne with such admirable fortitude.

#### PRESIDENT POINCARÉ

*The President of France addressed these words to his nation on Aug. 1 through the official journal, the Bulletin des Armées:*

For the second time we have to commemorate a soul-stirring anniversary. Two sections of mankind have been grappling with one another and are fighting amid streams of blood. The nations who have let loose that stupendous catastrophe have not yet completely expiated their act. But justice is on its way.

Instinctively, mutilated France, which during forty-four years had imposed

silence on her sorrow, understood in 1914 that the foe who was attacking her, blinded by pride and fanaticized by hatred, had no grievance to plead, no right to defend, no menace to ward off. It is in vain that today the aggressors are attempting to falsify history.

They were at first less knavish and more cynical when they flattered themselves in seeing in the treaties granted by them nothing but common scraps of paper. With insolent frankness they accepted the responsibility of their crime. The French Nation was conscious that theirs was a case of legitimate defense; it realized spontaneously that sacred union which is the main condition of victory and which found in the memorable sitting of the Parliament on Aug. 4, 1914, an imposing consecration.

The war became immediately, in the whole force of the term, a national war. There is not a Frenchman who remained deaf to the call of his country. When you were called upon to protect our frontiers and save our natal soil you were not only conscious that your material interests were at stake; you knew also that you were going to defend your hearths, that you were going to defend all which constitutes France—traditions, ideas, moral forces, preserved and developed by a nation which will not die.

Your patience and gallantry during long months have restrained the pressure of the German Army. The battlefields where you have repulsed the enemy—the Marne, the Yser, Champagne, Artois, the Meuse, and the Somme—mark so many stages of victory. It is you who have enabled France to organize her equipment, and Belgium and Serbia to reconstruct their armies. It is you who have given to England the time to form the admirable divisions which are fighting now at your side. It is you who have given to Russia the means to supply rifles and guns, cartridges and shells to her heroic troops.

Today, as you see, the Allies are beginning to gather the fruits of your perseverance. The Russian Army is pursuing the Austrian Army in flight. The Germans, attacked at the same time on the eastern and western fronts, are engaging

everywhere their reserves. British, Russian, and French battalions are co-operating in the liberation of our soil.

The struggle, alas, is not yet ended. It will still be hard, and all of us must continue working and working unremittingly and with fervor. But the superiority of the Allies is already apparent to every one. The scales of fate had protracted oscillations. Now one of the trays keeps on the ascent, the other is lowering under a burden which nothing will lighten.

#### JOFFRE TO HIS SOLDIERS

*The following address by General Joffre to the French Army was issued as an official order of the day on the second anniversary of the outbreak of the war:*  
Soldiers of the Republic:

Your third year of fighting has begun. For two years past you have been supporting with unflinching strength the weight of an implacable conflict. You have caused all the plans of our enemies to fail. You vanquished them on the Marne; you checked them on the Yser, and you beat them in the Artois and in the Champagne at a time when they were vainly seeking victory on the plains of Russia. Then your victorious resistance during a battle of five months' duration broke the German effort in front of Verdun.

Thanks to your stubborn courage, the armies of our allies have been enabled to manufacture arms, the weight of which our enemies today are experiencing over their entire front.

The moment is approaching when, under the strength of our mutual advance, the military power of Germany will crumble.

Soldiers of France, you may be proud of the work you already have accomplished! You have determined to see it through to the end! Victory is certain!

JOFFRE.

#### RUSSIAN VIEW

*General Chauvaieff, Russian Minister of War, tempers the Allies' expressions of confidence with this statement:*

It is necessary to dispel the illusion that the war can end in the Autumn. The breaking down of the enemy's forces has already begun—a fact as well known

by the Germans as by the Entente Allies—but Germany's technique is so high that, in spite of her economic weakening and the lowered morale of her troops, she still has the power to resist, and we must look forward to a further struggle before the final victory.

This explains the recent orders calling men ordinarily exempt to the colors. Russia already has a large reserve, but it is our intention that this reserve shall not diminish. It is fitting also that the foreign races in Russia, who ordinarily would not be obliged to serve, should be recruited, if not in the active army, at least in work connected with the conduct of the war, for all elements in Russia will receive the benefits of victory.

*General Alexeieff, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, says:*

I think that we may now be said to have passed through the most difficult period of our great war. While still offering stubborn resistance, our enemy is beginning to weaken, but we have need to summon all our powers yet before we can hope to attain the definite goal of our hopes.

*Premier Sturmer of Russia says:*

At the moment when the Allies are entering upon the third year of the war the Russian Government is more than ever resolved to continue the struggle to the end, and is firmly convinced that, with the help of the Almighty, the Allies

and their cause of justice and equity will triumph.

### GERMAN OFFICIAL FIGURES

*The German Government issued officially the figures relating to its conquests at the end of the second year of the war in a statement which reads:*

The Central Powers occupied 431,000 square kilometers, (161,625 square miles,) against 180,000 (67,625 square miles) a year ago. The enemy occupied in Europe 22,000 square kilometers, (8,250 square miles,) against 11,000 (4,125 square miles) a year ago.

The Central Powers, Bulgaria, and Turkey captured 2,678,000 enemy soldiers, against 1,695,000. Of those taken prisoner by the Germans 5,947 officers and 348,000 men were French, 9,100 officers and 1,202,000 men were Russian, and 947 officers and 30,000 men were British.

The war booty brought to Germany, in addition to that utilized immediately at the front, comprised 11,036 cannon, 4,700,000 shells, 3,450 machine guns, and 1,556,000 rifles.

According to the latest statistics of German wounded soldiers, 90.2 per cent. returned to the front, 1.4 per cent. died; the rest were unfit for service or were released. The military measures of the Central Powers, in consequence of vaccinations, were never disturbed by epidemics.

## How the Second Crisis Was Passed

### Summary of a Year's Developments

*This excellent summary of the war events of the year that ended Aug. 1, 1916, is a condensation of the statements of various French diplomatists and military experts. It is the story of the second year as seen from the viewpoint of France:*

**W**HILE French, British, and Russian preparations are daily becoming more complete, a crisis of exhaustion is fast arising for the Austrians and Germans. Our adversaries thought it would be impossible for us to prepare,

and certainly during the first year of the war there were difficulties that had to be overcome. We are proud to say that this was accomplished even while our valiant soldiers were resisting the German invasion. Thanks to the patriotism of the country and the abnegation shown by all classes in France and England, thanks also to the campaign in both countries for more cannon and more ammunition, industrial action was everywhere multiplied, and General Joffre was able to say in an order of the day to the

army at Verdun: "We have munitions in abundance."

The extent of the difficulties of the Central Empires does not even now appear from the state of the war as viewed from a geographical standpoint, but has shown itself in the changed tactics in evidence and is becoming obvious in the altered map. The operations of the Franco-British armies, outnumbered in men and guns during the first six months, saved France by sheer heroism, but could not end the war; could only prolong it and gain time. The Russians pushed into East Prussia, conquered the Bukowina, invaded Galicia, crossed the Carpathians, and even threatened Silesia, but exhausted their armament in April, 1915, and lacked even the essentials for defense. The Germans knew it would be impossible for Great Britain and France to have caught up in nine months with the Germans' forty-five years of preparations, and felt themselves free, dealing first with France, to turn upon the Russian armies. Nine divisions transported from the Franco-British front reinforced the Austrians, and the offensive against the Russians began in May. By the end of July Przemyśl and Lemberg had been retaken, and the Russians were considering the abandonment of Warsaw and the line of the Vistula. Short even of rifles, many of Emperor Nicholas's troops defended themselves with clubs during the long retreat, in which was accomplished the second miracle of the war, the continuity of their line being everywhere maintained, as well as the integrity of the Russian armies.

The battle of Arras in June, 1915, was considered to have proved the Allies, man for man, able to beat the Germans in the offensive, other things being equal, but the munitions and artillery of the opposing forces were not yet equally balanced. The transformation of field tactics as the war progressed multiplied the need for heavy guns and powerful projectiles to break through concrete-armored lines. This transformation thus increased the superiority of belligerents who had the initial advantage in preparation, forcing their adversaries to a greater expenditure of munitions than

their industries were as yet able to produce, while they themselves were able to shower the Russian lines with the biggest of shells.

The end of the first year of the war was the beginning of the second crisis for the Allies—a munitions crisis, aggravated by a diplomatic crisis requiring new enterprises that drew on their main forces. The landing of the French and British at the Dardanelles in April had weakened the Allies elsewhere, reducing the number of reserves on the main front, and if it did not modify their general plan it obviously made the elaboration of new plans difficult and hampered their movements.

At the same time the enigmatic situation in the Orient became serious, Greece refusing the compensation offered for territorial concessions to Bulgaria which might have facilitated a union of the Balkan States. The situation in Persia and Asia Minor, following the entry of Turkey into the war, had developed a menace to Great Britain in the Far East. The favorable impression produced by the advance north of Arras had diminished in the absence of further operations, and there was a notable absence of news favorable to the Allies.

"More cannon, more ammunition" was the comment of the French people on the difficulties that beset them. Women and girls joined in the efforts of the trained mechanics brought back from the armies to the forge and the lathe, and the curve of munitions production took a sharp upward turn.

The industrial efforts of the Allies were given the required time by the resistance of the Russian armies. The Germans advanced, but they could neither destroy nor dislocate the Russian forces.

While intensifying to the utmost their production of arms and ammunition the Allies began early in the second year of hostilities, with the visit of Field Marshal Earl Kitchener to France, the series of conferences that was finally to co-ordinate their military effort.

The French, in the Champagne and in the Artois in September, gained considerable territory and made important captures in prisoners and material, but as in the preceding offensive north of Arras

in June this movement failed of decisive results because of the narrowness of the front of the attack and the impossibility to push artillery preparation deeply enough into the German lines. That the offensive was considered to have confirmed the superiority of the French soldier in attack in nowise altered the general situation.

After the campaign in the Balkans, which from the German viewpoint was successful but not decisive, Germany turned her attention again to the western front. She then decided upon the venture at Verdun.

The German plan seems originally to have been to concentrate artillery, munitions, and men in such force over a limited length of front that the onrush would be irresistible. They chose Verdun because the position of the ancient fortress was such that the defenders had their backs to the River Meuse on two sides and because success there would give the greatest possible prestige with neutral powers and the maximum comfort to their own people. It was also possible they knew what subsequent political events in France disclosed—that the defenses of Verdun were not, in view of the field tactics of this war, as strong as other parts of the front. It is the belief of military experts that the Germans hoped to break through the front there and destroy the French armies. It was imperative that success be rapid, according to this view, and when, after three days, the advance was checked in the region of Douaumont the project had failed. General Pétain, as an official citation later revealed, had time to "re-establish a delicate situation." There was no longer hope of breaking through the French front.

Every yard of ground gained by the Germans before Verdun since Feb. 24 has been at an extremely heavy sanguinary cost. The continuing of so expensive and fruitless an operation has puzzled the critics. It has been advanced that the Germans persisted with the object of exhausting the French forces and preventing an offensive by the Allies elsewhere. If that end was in view the success of the Allies in the battle of the Somme shows it was not attained.

The battle of Verdun, if ordered with the intention of interfering with the offensive plans of the Allies, in nowise diminished the chances of carrying them out, whatever the fate of the discarded fortress, it having now no more significance apart from the prestige of the name than any other point along the front. Local success there has long been discounted, and, in military opinion, can have no vital effect, while the attempting of a wastage process by the Central Powers at this stage of the war is held to be illusory and certainly enormously costly. The Central Empires have no longer reserves in such numbers that they can afford to launch them against the Allies in the mere hope of inflicting more damage than they suffer.

The heroic defense of Verdun, on the other hand, has been for the Allies one of the notable developments of the war. It held German reserves there in such numbers as to put an end to the shifting of troops from front to front. It prevented the reinforcement of the Austrians, suffering from the loss of prisoners, with perhaps as many in casualties, to the armies under General Brusiloff. It obliged the Germans to prolong during five months a vast daily expenditure of projectiles that was expected to continue only a few days, and has so drawn upon their reserves of munitions that in the battle of the Somme they were able to reply to the French and British guns in the proportion of only one shot for three. The successful defense of Verdun and the successful offensives of the Allies in the North of France and on the western front show at the end of the second year of the war that the finally prepared war map on which the German Chancellor held that the Allies ought to accept negotiations is undergoing singular modifications, with the Russians occupying Bukowina and part of Galicia; the Italians recovering territory lost in the recent Austrian offensive and still in possession of the Isonzo region, and with the French and British in possession of more than thirty villages on the banks of the Somme that had been occupied by the Germans for twenty months and each of them transformed

in the meantime into miniature fortresses. The Allies have caught up with the advantage of the Central Powers in preparation, and any further modifications of the respective positions of the contending forces, it is believed, must be a reconquest of invaded territory by the Allies.

The destruction of adversary forces is another and a far more difficult mat-

ter. In this war the end may be nearer than many hope or may yet be far distant. There are no bases on which to calculate the progress of military operations or the resistance of the belligerents, even when apparently doomed to defeat. What is clear is that the anticipated ascendancy of the Allies, arising from their unrestricted resources, appears to have been realized.

## "Stonewalling in France"

By General Sir Douglas Haig

*At the beginning of the third year of the war Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, made the following statement in the presence of press correspondents:*

THE tide has turned. Time has been with the Allies from the first. It is only a question of more time till we win a decisive victory, which is the one sure way to bring peace in this as in other wars. Until this victory is won it ill becomes a British soldier in France to think of peace.

The problem of the first Summer's campaign and the second for the Allies was to hold the Germans from forcing a decision with their ready numbers of men, guns, and shells. Whether it was the able Generalship and heroism of the French on the Marne, the dogged retreat of the little British expeditionary force from Mons, the stubborn resistance of the French and British to the Germans' effort for the Channel ports, the Russian retreat last Summer, Belgium's or Serbia's sacrifice, Italy's stonewalling against Austria's offensive or France's immortal defense of Verdun, the purpose was always to gain time for preparations necessary to take the offensive away from the enemy.

Our unpreparedness at the start of the war, due to its unexpectedness, is no secret. While France, which had a great national army and universal service, was giving all her strength, we had to begin building from the bottom.

The majority of our best regular offi-

cers had been killed or wounded in the early fighting. With the remainder as a nucleus to drill and organize the volunteers, who were raw but had the spirit that quickeneth, we undertook to create an army of millions, which must be officered largely by men of no military experience, to fight the German Army, with its forty years of preparation.

Meanwhile we had to keep on stonewalling in France with such troops as we had ready against that prepared foe, whose blows were the sturdier in his efforts for a decision owing to his realization that time was against him. Now the new army has had its first practical experience in attack on a large scale.

However well trained an army, however able its Generals, however ample its artillery and munitions, the supreme test in a war of this kind is its capacity, unit by unit, for bearing heavy losses unflinchingly. Wherever sacrifice of life was necessary, to the end these new army men have borne it without wavering and in manner worthy of the best traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race when it has had to fight for principles associated with its history the world over.

[Turning to the map, he put his finger first on Pozieres and then on Delville Wood, where Britain's incessant struggle has gained precious high ground, and said:]

Here our men, after they had conquered the maze of trench fortifications which the Germans had been a year and a half in building, have fought under

field conditions, digging what cover they could, withstanding counterattacks with all the stubbornness of the regulars at Ypres, continuing to advance, putting their skill, courage, and resources against those of an army with forty years of preparation. Their confidence that as man to man, with equally good artillery support, they were the superior of the German has been justified by the event. They feel that they have taken the measure of the Germans.

In relation to our own losses they have been severe in the instance of some units whose steadiness in the face of a most galling fire has insured reliance on the others under a similar test. I may say that the total for the month of July

to date, in the midst of a continuous offensive, has been less than five times the total in June, when we were in our trenches.

The third year of the war will be the Allies' year. No less than France, now that we are ready, we shall give all the strength there is in us to drive the invader from her soil and that of Belgium. England will not achieve her full strength on land, however, until next Summer.

All those who believe that our cause is the cause of civilization may rest assured that this army has no thought except to go on delivering blow after blow until we have won that victory by force of arms which will insure an enduring peace.

## British Deeds in the Critical Year

By Sir Gilbert Parker

*Novelist and Member of Parliament*

LOOKING back at the end of the second year, one is forced to wonder how Germany was stayed in her march of conquest. According to every rule she should have been in Paris at the time she herself appointed—early in the Autumn of 1914. She came very near it.

What stopped her? She had left out of her calculations the strategical skill which belongs by nature to the French Army, the new French Army, from behind Paris, and "the contemptible little British Army."

It is a remarkable thing that on the western front the only gains of Germany were achieved in the first few weeks of the war. Those gains were of immense strategical value to her. They included the mining and industrial districts of France and nearly the whole of Belgium, from which she has steadily drawn practical support and advantage and supplies. The wonder is not that the Allies have done so well, but that, with all her preparations and her perfect armament, Germany and her obedient colleagues, Austria and Turkey and Bulgaria, have done so badly.

Apparently at the beginning of the war

everything was in their hands, everything except one—the British Navy. If Germany could have mastered her as she mastered Belgium and a goodly portion of France the war would long since have been over. France would have been a third-rate power under practical German control; Russia would have been driven back into her steppes and plains, once more the slave of German influence and control, and the British Empire as we know it would have become a thing of the past.

What the British Navy did was to sweep German merchant commerce from the seas, prevent Germany from trading with the rest of the world, except by crooked methods, bottle up her fleet to uselessness, drive her South Atlantic fleet to the bottom of the sea, and throttle and choke German export to an extent that great cities like Hamburg have lost the hum of their activity, and, outside the Baltic Sea, there is no stir of German commerce, save in a freakish enterprise like that of the Deutschland. Those, however, who count the work of the Deutschland as extraordinary should remember that it is not original, since a

considerable number of British submarines have crossed the Atlantic during the last year safely and surely. It is not strange that the Deutschland accomplished its feat. It will be very strange, however, if that feat is repeated by many sister submarines.

German foreign commerce cannot be rehabilitated by the activities of submarines. Since the battle of Jutland it can be safely and surely said that the seas are still controlled overwhelmingly by the British fleet. The German fleet came out, and then fled to cover again after a stiff fight.

But let us now take the field of battle on the western front. For a whole year or more critics in the United States, whose only idea of warfare was that of constant action, have continuously asked why was it Great Britain, which had recruited between three and four million men, should be doing nothing on the western front. They complained that France was left alone at Verdun and elsewhere. They did not realize that France knew she had at her disposal at any moment the British troops which were holding their own line of the front and steadily extending it. They did not remember that at the beginning of the war Great Britain was armed on a basis of a mere handful of men; that all the machinery of equipment was upon a basis of the handful, and that having men—a million or two millions—she still could not equip them, because she had not factories of munitions except upon the scale of the handful.

Men had to be recruited, fed, uniformed, equipped; artillery had to be developed and extended beyond all experience of the past. Rifles had to be supplied. And the one reason why there was such delay in making a move on the western front by the British was lack of equipment. The push forward at Loos was not final and effective because there were not sufficient munitions.

But what is the condition of affairs today? There are enough munitions. Why? Because big men have given their brains and skill to the task of organization; because the manual workers of England have roused themselves to a

complete sense of duty; because they have given up trade union regulations for the period of the war; because, without murmuring, they have thrown up their holidays; because hundreds and thousands of women have joined the munitions works or have entered into fields of occupation formerly monopolized by men, such as the conduction of cars on tram lines, driving vans, working upon farms, clerking in offices, doing men's work in scores of small trades; because all England, in every corner of it, is alive to the terrible significance of the world fight and has given its best blood, mind, strength, and craft to the nation's cause.

In spite of criticism and complaint England would not and did not move on the western front until she was ready, although she was ready to help at Verdun if needed, and said so. And she was not ready until she could dominate, as she has done, the German artillery by a greater weight of metal; until, making a move forward over the whole of her line, they both could make good their successes, mile by mile, and steadily and surely diminish the capacity of resistance upon the part of Germany. This they have done.

What is the position today? Every one of the Allies has moved forward and at the same time, and every one has succeeded, as she has moved. Italy, like Russia, France, and England elsewhere, has succeeded in her field against Austria. Germany cannot put forward her men to help Austria. Austria is harassed by Italy and by Russia. Germany is harassed and hammered by England, Russia, France, and Belgium.

There is no rest for Germany anywhere. She cannot shift her troops from front to front, as she did in the early days of the war, smashing one enemy here and then whisking her troops over to smash another enemy there.

Mistakes? The Allies no doubt have made mistakes, but England has made no such mistakes as have been made by Germany, all of whose plans have gone awry. England was expected to, and promised to, furnish 150,000 men for the protection of Belgium in case of a European war—and that was all.

She has, in fact, provided an army and navy personnel of nearly 5,000,000 men and has trebled the personnel of her fleet. Could any other nation in the world furnish over 4,000,000 men on a voluntary basis, as Great Britain has done?

Americans should understand that it is not alone in the field of battle that Great Britain has proved her capacity for organization. She has proved it in the civil field; she has nationalized the railways of the country and has paid the regular dividends; she secured the sugar crop of the world at the very beginning of the war, through which sugar is cheaper today in Great Britain than it is in the United States, and at the same time has got out of it a revenue of nearly \$34,000,000.

She rescued the British people from being done by meat trusts by seizing all ships which could carry chilled meat, and, having the ships, she could get her meat on fair terms, and has done so—50,000 tons a month for Great Britain and France, and 10,000 tons for Italy. She has also supplied France with steel, boots, shoes, and uniforms. She has made coal a public military service, and by act of Parliament has fixed the profit of the coal mines, and she supplies the British, French, and Italian Navies with coal. She has organized the purchase of wheat by a small committee, which also buys and ships wheat and oats, fodder,

&c., for Italy. She has bought up the fish supply of Norway, and very lately bought up against German intrigue the great bulk of food exports of Holland.

She has put on a 5 shilling income tax, which has been paid without protest by the mass of the British people. She has drawn upon her financial resources till she has loaned her allies and her oversea dominions £450,000,000, and she has taken as high as 80 per cent. of the war profits of the great manufacturing firms.

The organization of Great Britain is not ornate and spectacular, but there never was a time when all the people of the country were so occupied in national things, when so many have given themselves up, without pay or reward, to doing national work. Her power of organization is proved thoroughly by the work of the Ministry of Munitions, which, under the indefatigable Mr. Lloyd George, has increased the three Government munition factories before the war to 4,000 establishments, with 2,000,000 workers; has arranged canteens for 500,000 people, and has erected twenty national workshops, with, in one case, a population of 50,000 people.

As for manufacture—in a fortnight as many heavy shells can be made as were made in the first year of the war. Great Britain has shown her ancient skill for organization in a new and successful light.

## Russia's Two Great Campaigns

### Striking Change in the Outlook

*Following is a summary of the situation as seen by various Russian officials and military experts:*

**T**HE beginning of the third year of the war finds Russia on the offensive along a large part of her western front. In the Caucasus Russian forces are pushing westward well beyond Erzerum and southward toward the Mesopotamian border. Her armies have been reorganized and strengthened, and the shortage of ammunition, which was re-

sponsible for one of the most spectacular and at the same time one of the most successfully conducted retreats in history, has been remedied. Today she has shells, cannon, and small arms in abundance. Her munition factories have been improved and enlarged and are putting out large quantities of war materials in addition to the enormous shipments arriving from abroad. The personnel of the troops is as high, if not higher, than it was a year ago. The

present financial needs have been adjusted through loans placed in England, France, and America.

The outlook today presents a striking contrast to that of last August, which saw the fall of Warsaw and the continuation of the retirement of the Russian Armies, with the Germans and Austrians, buoyed up with a long succession of victories, still fiercely engaging in rear-guard attacks. The turning point came early in the Fall. On Sept. 9 the Russians stopped the Austrians at Tarnopol. The German wave of invasion continued to roll onward, but in the latter days of September it had spent its force. The Russian Armies turned upon the enemy along the line of the Dwina, Berezhina, Shara, Styr, and Sereth Rivers and checked them there. Desperate repeated efforts of the Germans to capture Riga and Dvinsk, in which they hoped to establish Winter bases, failed. They attacked again and again throughout the Winter, but the Russian line held—and still holds.

Emperor Nicholas took personal command of the armies early in September, and since then has been continuously at General Staff headquarters here and there along the front, counseling officers, cheering and encouraging the men. He appointed General M. V. Alexeieff, who was the right-hand man of General Ivanoff in the latter's brilliant campaign in Galicia during the Fall and Winter of 1914, to be Chief of Staff, and Grand Duke Nicholas, hitherto Commander in Chief, was assigned to command in the Caucasus.

The Winter saw offensives and counteroffensives locally in various sections of the western front, but no definite advance was undertaken until January, when the Russians moved forward slightly along the 200-mile line from Czartorysk to the Rumanian frontier—the scene of General Brusiloff's recent successes, but the Spring thaw put an end to the movement, and the armies settled into another period of inertia, which lasted until the beginning of June, when General Brusiloff, who had recently been appointed successor to General Ivanoff as commander of the south-

ern armies, began the drive which carried the Russian front forward to the Stokhod and to Kolomea on the west, and overran the entire province of the Bukowina.

Meanwhile Grand Duke Nicholas had been justifying the wisdom of his appointment to the command in the Caucasus. He reorganized the armies which had been carrying the struggle against the Turks with varying success since the beginning of the war, and by New Year's Day had started a campaign along definite lines. The Turks were driven back upon Erzerum, and the Russians on Feb. 16, after overcoming what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles in the way of difficult mountainous country and fearful weather conditions, forced the surrender of Erzerum and scattered the Turkish armies. In the succeeding months they carried the advance beyond Mamakhatum, fifty miles further west. On April 19 Trebizond, an important port on the Black Sea, capitulated. The more recent capture of Baiburt, an important stronghold between Trebizond and Mamakhatum, followed. To the southward the armies occupied the greater part of Kurdistan, including the cities of Bitlis, Revanduz, Serdasht, Khanikin, and Kermanshah, constituting a front of 400 miles from the sea southeastward into Western Persia. On July 25, or only a few days ago, the Russians, after breaking up a Turkish attempt at an offensive, occupied the important city of Erzengan. Thus practically all Armenia is now in their hands.

General Brusiloff's advance reached its point of deepest penetration in the Bukowina, where it pushed the enemy back sixty-five miles and gained an average of twenty-five miles along a total front of 275 miles from the Kovel-Sarny Railway to Rumania. The Russian Commander cut the forces under General Pflanzer into pieces and shoved them into the Carpathian Mountains; had General Bothmer fighting on the defensive west of the Stripa. General von Boehm-Ermolli was driven out of Brody, in Galicia, the eastern defense of Lemberg, while General von Linsingen and Archduke Ferdinand are engaged in a

life-and-death struggle along the Stokhod before Kovel.

General Brusiloff's stupendous bag of prisoners, according to the latest estimates, numbers 300,000 officers and men, and this is still being increased by thou-

sands and tens of thousands from week to week. It is declared that probably an equal number have been put out of action, counting the dead and wounded. His booty in guns and equipment runs into extravagant figures.

## Italy's War in the High Alps

### An Official Summary

*Italy entered the war on May 23, 1915, so that this retrospect, prepared by the Italian War Office, covers fourteen months:*

WHEN the European war began Italy held back for ten months, respecting the alliance which for a third of a century had bound her to the Central Empires. But longer than this she could not disregard the call of the Entente Powers. They were fighting for a principle of nationality to which Italy is indebted for her existence. They were fighting for principles of law and justice of which Italy has been an exponent since the time of the Romans.

Furthermore, Italy could no longer delay solution of the question of the Italian provinces that were still subject to persecution by Austria. It was imperative that Italy should contest the frontier imposed by Austria after the war of 1866 which gave her northern neighbors possession of all the gates and passes leading into Italy. It was imperative also that Italy should gain supremacy in the Adriatic, without which she could never be said to enjoy liberty and peace in full security.

Although unprepared for war, we fortunately possessed in General Cadorna a powerful organizer and a cautious strategist. Taking the Italian Army on its modest peace footing as a backbone, he transformed it, through miracles of energy and military science, into a powerful, efficient, brilliant modern army, which on May 24, 1915, the day after war was declared on Austria, suddenly threw itself across the whole frontier into the enemy's territory.

In doing this General Cadorna won two principal advantages: First, he gained

the initiative of action; secondly, he made Austria the scene of the warfare. Throughout the campaign Cadorna aimed to render his allies the greatest possible services.

Italy began her operations just at the time when the Russians were obliged to retreat. The strong army which Cadorna threw across the northern border menacing Austria may have saved that Russian retreat from a complete disaster. Similarly, when the Germans attacked Verdun Cadorna started a strong offensive along the Isonzo River, which prevented Austria from sending to the aid of the German Crown Prince large numbers of troops and artillery which had been prepared for that purpose.

Equal advantages have recently been obtained by Austria's temporary invasion of a small section of the Italian Trentino front in the Asiago district. If Austria had not centred all her forces in this enterprise it would have been much more difficult for Russia to launch the marvelous offensive which she is now conducting. Profiting by the situation, General Cadorna attacked the Austrians so energetically that their removal from the Alps to the Carpathians to fight the Russians has been out of the question.

In Albania General Cadorna likewise aided our allies. It being materially impossible to save Serbia and Montenegro, he transformed the Albanian seaport of Avlona into an impregnable intrenched camp, threatening and checking the Austrians in the same manner that the allied troops at Saloniki have held back the Bulgarians.

Above all others in this war stands

our King, modest soldier and fervent patriot. He and King Albert are the only sovereigns in this war who have never abandoned their place at the front.

The difficulties of the war which Italy is waging may be understood only by visiting our battle fronts. They are stretched along the highest altitudes at which warfare has ever been known. With all the advantageous positions in the prior possession of the Austrians, our enemies have to be dug out of their nests, 10,000 feet up amid eternal snows. To her natural defenses Austria has added the most powerful modern system of fortifications.

Still, the Italians have gained ground, and all along have conquered territory on the right bank of the Isonzo, except

at Gorizia and Tomlino, which are entrenched camps defended by almost impregnable mountains, part of the Carso plateau, the high Monte Nero Ridge, the Ampezzo territory, including Cortina, and part of the famous Dolomite Road, which is the shortest communication between Toblach and Trent. We had almost reached Rovereto when the Austrian incursion into Trentino obliged us to retreat within our own frontier.

But with this exception the Austrians have always been on the defensive, and have lost about 200 towns and villages, 40,000 prisoners, dozens of cannon, hundreds of machine guns, several thousand rifles, all of which have more than ordinary value, because they were taken in a mountainous country, where it is difficult to replace captured artillery and stores.

## The Policies of Germany's Enemies

By the Berlin Foreign Office

*Reviewing the political events of the second year of the war, the German Foreign Office issued the following statement:*

THE world war was caused by Russia's aggressive policy, supported by France's policy of revenge. But it was rendered possible solely by the fact that England subordinated to her economic antagonism to Germany all her other interests. Whereas Germany's enemies regard it quite in order that they demand territorial aggrandizements at the cost of others—like Russia, who wants Constantinople and Galicia; like France, who desires Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine, and like Italy, who seeks Austrian territory—they grudge Germany even that she strive to develop herself economically in peaceable competition, and they pronounce this an unpardonable sin against the world's order of things.

They are unwilling that Germany should become great and strong, because the other powers want to be the economic masters of the world. Territorial and economic aggrandizement has united

Germany's foes in a war of destruction against us.

The second war year has brought these true aims of our opponents into clearer light. In Russia this is openly admitted, they having an understanding with England and wanting Constantinople as their war goal. In France there is a war-mad cry for Alsace-Lorraine. In England, too, the mask has been dropped. It is openly admitted that Belgium was only a pretext to justify England's participation in the war which was undertaken only from self-interest.

Germany must be destroyed. Germany shall never more raise her head economically nor militarily. In this way is the goal of our enemy more clearly enunciated during the second year of the war.

It is equally clear that the talk of a struggle of democracy against militarism is only a catch-word used by our enemies to create sentiment and to cloak outwardly their real purpose of destruction. Assuredly there can be no talk of a struggle for the maintenance of democratic principles when one side

sets out to destroy the enemy completely, including the civilian population.

And is England really the land of democracy she pretends to be? Has not the entire development of England during the war shown that England is drawing further than ever away from democracy?

Moreover, if England had really resorted to war in defense of the rights of the smaller nations, as she fondly announces to the world, she could without damage to her position have answered otherwise than with the threat of destroying Germany. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's remarks made in the course of the year outlined German aims with sufficient clearness. England, therefore, wants a war of destruction, a war to the knife which, according to the plans of our enemies, shall continue even after the cannon is silenced; for their former talk about the permanent peace that they wished to establish has been drowned under the shout that Germany's enemies are raising over the Paris Economic Conference.

It is not enough that the world must be shaken by a protracted, bloody war. The world must not even thereafter enjoy a settled peace if the will of the Entente Powers prevails, for the decisions of the Economic Conference do not signify an economic peace, but a permanent economic warfare which never will permit the world to come to rest upon the basis of peaceful competition.

This shows at the same time that the great words of the Entente Powers about fighting for the rights of smaller nations and international order are empty sounds, for when Germany's enemies seek to control neutral trade they simply ignore the rights of other countries and base, not on the principle of right, but upon pure might, precisely what they allegedly want to abolish.

The second year of the war therefore shows that our enemies are precisely what they all along wrongly reproached Germany with being, namely, disturbers of the peace. Russia, through her unbridled passion for extending her borders; England, through being uncontrollable for dominating alone the economic

world, and France, through her passion for revenge.

This second year of the war further proved that it is our enemies who follow the principle of might before right. They show this in the more and more reckless violations of the generally recognized principles of international law, not only in the struggle against the Central Powers, but still more in their treatment of neutrals. \* \* \*

One observes, therefore, in the second war year increasing violations of the rights of neutrals in the interests of England and her allies. These violations will also continue through the third war year, and even increase, unless all signs prove false. \* \* \*

Germany proved in the last year, contrary to England's example, that in attaining her end she seeks so far as possible to avoid violating the just rights of neutrals. She even went far toward meeting the wishes of the United States in her conduct of submarine warfare, in spite of the fact that the enemy was trying to subdue Germany through an illegal war upon her peaceable population.

Out of regard for the interests of neutrals Germany relinquished for the present one of her most effective weapons against the enemy, although she was compelled to wage a life-and-death struggle.

At the opening of the third year of the war Germany is able to look back to her splendid military successes on water and on land, which are not without political importance. Germany and her allies remained firmly united during the past year in bonds of friendship and common interests. Bulgaria, as the fourth member, entered the alliance in October, 1915, after having satisfactorily arranged matters with Turkey. Through the accession of Bulgaria, which resulted in the subjugation of Serbia, the way was opened for the Central Powers from Berlin to Constantinople and to Bagdad, an event of far-reaching importance.

The alliance of the Central Powers rests upon a community of political and economic interests. It is an intrinsic necessity for all four States and it guar-

antees to them among themselves the greatest advantages without in any way threatening the interests of the others.

Building upon what she already has achieved Germany treads the threshold of

the third year of the war with unshaken confidence. But the goal has not yet been reached, for the enemy has not yet come to see the impossibility of subjugating Germany.

## German Deeds On the High Seas

By Admiral von Holtzendorff

*Chief of German Naval General Staff*

THE naval warfare of the second year of the war, which envy and a spirit of revenge forced upon Germany and her allies, has passed, the chief impression left by it being increased British naval terrorism and the battle of the Skagerrak. The neutral powers in 1916 were throttled more than in the first year by the sea power of England, and hindered in the justified exercise of their commerce, postal rights, &c., by threats and violence. The victory of the German fleet over the British May 31 and June 1, therefore, was won in the interest of all the neutrals and all those who are dependent on the freedom of the seas.

While in the first year of the war twenty proved violations of the law of nations by enemy merchantmen (firing upon German submarines, attempts to ram them, &c.) occurred, thirty-eight such cases were reported in the second year. Merchantmen owned by the Allies therefore during the two years violated in the grossest manner the rules of international law no less than fifty-eight times against our submarines. This can be proved up to the hilt.

The warships of Germany's enemies during the war have violated the law of nations in three particularly extreme cases, namely, the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, the Dresden, and the Albatross. Two cases, the Baralong and the King Stephen, must be characterized not only as violations of the law of nations and a breach of the most ordinary tenets of humanity, but as common murder. Countless cases in which British warships have violated international law in their conduct against merchantmen owned by the Central Powers or neutrals cannot be enumerated.

During the second year of the war the British and their allies lost 22 warships of a total of 266,320 tons and Germany and her allies 10 warships of 82,210 tons. The total losses for the two years of the war are: Great Britain and her allies, 49 ships of 562,250 tons, and Germany and her allies, 30 ships of 191,321 tons. Of these losses England alone had 40 ships of 485,220 tons and Germany alone 25 ships of 162,676 tons.

The British losses comprised 11 battleships, 17 armored cruisers, and 12 protected cruisers. The battleships include the Audacious, the loss of which has not yet been officially announced, and a ship of the Queen Elizabeth class. The cruisers include the still contested loss of the Tiger and the destruction of an armored cruiser of the Cressy class on the night of May 31, which was established by observations from almost the entire German fleet, and two small cruisers in the battle of Skagerrak.

Furthermore, during the year preceding June 30, 879 enemy merchantmen, of a total of 1,816,682 gross tons, were lost as a consequence of war measures of the Central Powers, which brings the total for the war up to July 1 to 1,303 enemy merchantmen of 2,574,205 tons, not including enemy merchantmen confiscated in the harbors of the Central Powers.

The total result of the two years' war for England and her allies is a loss in material and prestige which cannot be made good. This great and unexpected success of the German fleet and confederated naval forces deserves the more consideration because the strength of warships afloat or under construction at the beginning of the war for the enemy fleets was 443 vessels of 5,428,000 tons,

excluding auxiliary cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and other armed craft, of which England alone had far more than 2,000 in service. Against these vessels Germany and her allies could oppose 156

similar ships of 1,651,000 tons. The Central Powers therefore have inflicted on an enemy three and a third times stronger than them losses in large warships almost triple their own.

## Review of the Year's Naval Battles

By Captain Persius

*Leading German Naval Critic*

IT seemed likely that the second year of the war would end without a sea fight of the first magnitude, but May 31 brought a gratifying proof that our great battleships were not built in vain, and that our fleet, despite seeming inactivity, was quietly and assiduously preparing itself for a blow against the strongest sea power in the world. We still hear the question asked as to who was the real victor in the fight off Skagerrak. A comparison of the clear, concise reports of the German Admiralty Staff with Admiral Jellicoe's long-winded reports, which contain only a few facts, leaves no doubt that the German official account gives a thoroughly truthful description of the battle. The English version, with its barrenness of facts, labors in vain to conceal its improbability.

Whatever the final judgment is of the battle in detail the loss of British prestige at sea and the pronounced success of our fleet remain indisputable if only the British losses in men and ships are considered. The waves of the North Sea swallowed 6,104 British seamen and 117,150 gross registered tons of shipping, while the German losses were 2,414 men and 60,720 tons. These figures were officially published on both the German and British sides.

Numberless authorities, both hostile and neutral, have expressed opinions on the battle, but the German people will not permit themselves to be influenced by any foreign judgment. They understand alone how proud they may be of a navy whose quality and honor have stood the test of battle with the strongest sea power. They know that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg rightly expressed the

general sentiment in his speech in the Reichstag on June 5 when he said: "This victory, too, shall not make us vain-glorious. We know that England is not subdued or conquered by this battle."

By the side of the battle of the Skagerrak the other events in the second year of the war, navally speaking, pale into insignificance. In the first year the activity of German submarines aroused general astonishment. In the second year their activity was sharply circumscribed, but nevertheless their successes in war upon commerce were considerable in comparison with those of the first year.

On the other hand, the destruction of warships by submarines occurred but seldom. The U-27 destroyed an English protected cruiser in the North Sea on Aug. 10, 1915. Another of our boats sank the French armored cruiser Amiral Charnier in the Eastern Mediterranean on Feb. 8, 1916. A number of minor war vessels were also sunk.

English submarines did some damage to German commerce in the Baltic and succeeded in torpedoing several of our warships like the armored cruiser Prince Adalbert, Oct. 23; Undine, Nov. 7, and Bremen, Dec. 17.

Special attention is merited by the bold flights of our marine aircraft and their important scout work in the North Sea and Baltic. Attacks were made against fortified places on England's east coast and the English were able to destroy only two German airships, No. 15 on April 1, and No. 7 on May 4. Within a few hours our airships were able to reconnoitre the entire North Sea and they did valuable service in the battle off Skagerrak. Marine aeroplanes also did excellent work

and especially distinguished themselves in the Baltic where they were of the utmost value in various ways. On several occasions they were able even to take the offensive with success, damaging warships with bombs and capturing merchantmen.

In the Black Sea and the Mediterranean German submarines, working with those of Austria-Hungary, operated successfully in war against commerce and destroyed numerous transports laden with troops and war material. In the Black Sea the *Yawuz Sultan Selim*, formerly the German cruiser *Goeben*, and the *Midullu*, formerly the German cruiser *Breslau*, bombarded Russian fortified towns on the Crimean coast at various times and damaged Russian commerce.

The glorious deeds of several German auxiliary cruisers remain to be mentioned. The *Möwe*, under the command of Count von Dohna, made a successful raid into the Atlantic in January and February. The *Appam*, one of the steamers captured by it, carried the pas-

sengers and crew of other captured merchantmen to the United States under the command of Lieutenant Berg. The *Möwe* herself made her home port safely on March 4 laden with booty. The auxiliary cruisers *Meteor* and *Greif* destroyed on Aug. 7 and Feb. 29, respectively, the much stronger armed British auxiliaries *Ramsey* and *Alcantara*.

On the threshold of the third year of the war it remains to be pointed out that the German Navy has hitherto fulfilled its chief task of keeping the enemy from German coasts, and, beyond this, has scored a series of successes that have exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The German people do not ignore the fact that British sea power still dominates the seas, but nevertheless they look with confidence upon their navy. They expect it to show itself able and willing to win victories in the third year of the war as it has done hitherto and thus contribute its part toward the general aim of securing an honorable peace.

## Jutland and the Turn of the Tide

By Arthur J. Balfour

*First Lord of the British Admiralty*

THE second anniversary of the British declaration of war provides a fitting opportunity for a brief survey of the present naval situation. The consequences, material and moral, of the Jutland battle cannot be easily overlooked; an allied diplomatist assured me that he considered it the turning point of the war.

The tide, which had long ceased to help our enemies, began from that moment to flow strongly in our favor. This much, at least, is true that every week which has passed since the German fleet was driven, damaged, into port has seen new successes for the Allies in one part or other of the field of operations. It would be an error, however, to suppose that the naval victory changed the situation; what it did was to confirm it.

Before the Jutland battle, as after, the German fleet was imprisoned. The battle was an attempt to break the bars and burst the confining gates. It failed, and with its failure the High Seas Fleet sank again into impotence. The Germans claim Jutland as a victory, but in essence they admit the contrary, since the object of a naval battle is to obtain command of the sea; and it is certain that Germany has not obtained that command, while Great Britain has not lost it. Tests of this assertion are easy to apply. Has the grip of the British blockade relaxed since May 31? Has it not, on the contrary, tightened?

The Germans themselves will admit the increasing difficulty of importing raw materials and foodstuffs and of exporting their manufactures; hence, the

violence of their invectives against Great Britain.

[Mr. Balfour argues that if they had felt themselves on the way to maritime equality the Germans would not have so loudly advertised the Deutschland incident, the whole interest of which, in German eyes, was to prove their ability to elude the barrier raised by the British fleet between them and the outer world. He advises those requiring further proofs of the value the Germans attach to their "victorious fleet" to study the German policy of submarine warfare, and says:]

The advantage of submarine attacks on commerce is that they cannot be controlled by superior fleet power in the same way as attacks by cruisers; a disadvantage is that they cannot be carried out on a large scale consistently with the laws of war or the requirements of humanity. They make, therefore, a double appeal to German militarism—an appeal to its prudence and an appeal to its brutality.

The Germans know that their victorious fleet was useless. It could be kept safe in harbor while the submarine warfare went on merrily outside. They knew that submarines cannot be brought to action by battleships or battle cruisers. They thought, therefore, that to these new commerce destroyers our merchant ships must fall an easy prey, unprotected by our ships of war and unable to protect themselves.

They were wrong in both respects, and doubtless it is their wrath at the skill

and energy with which British merchant Captains and British crews have defended the lives and property under their charge that has driven the German Admiralty into their latest and stupidest act of calculated ferocity—the judicial murder of Captain Fryatt. \* \* \*

What blunderers they are! They know how to manipulate machines, but of managing men they know less than nothing. They are always wrong, because they always suppose that if they behave like brutes they can cow their enemies into behaving like cowards. Small is their knowledge of our merchant seamen. I doubt whether one can be found who has not resolved to defend himself to the last against piratical attack. But if there is such a one, depend upon it, he will be cured by the last exhibition of German civilization. And what must neutrals think of all this?

The freedom of the sea means to Germany that the German Navy is to behave at sea as the German Army behaves on land. It means that neither enemy civilians nor neutrals may possess rights against militant Germany; that those who do not resist will be drowned, and those who do will be shot.

Already 244 neutral merchantmen have been sunk in defiance of law and humanity, and the number daily grows. Mankind, with the experience of two years of war behind it, has made up its mind about German culture. It is not, I think, without material for forming a judgment about German freedom.

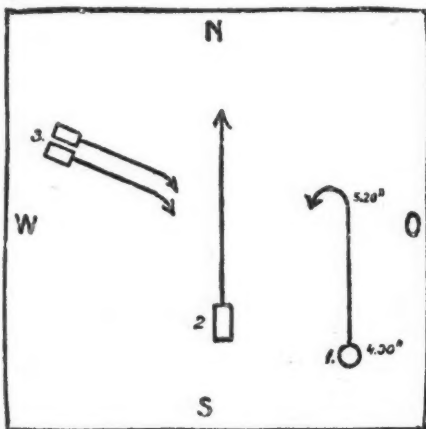


# Two Explanations of the Battle of Jutland

A Berlin dispatch in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, evidently with official sanction, offers the following diagrammatic explanation of the great naval engagement of May 31 in the North Sea. The numbers in the text refer to the arrows representing the tactical moves of the opposing fleets. These diagrams, as well as the text, will be found to be objects of lively controversy in the British official commentary, which is also presented herewith.

## I.—THE GERMAN VIEW

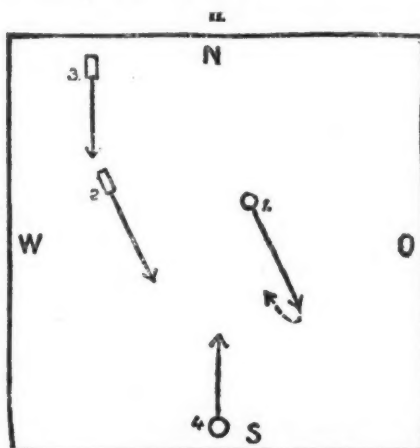
IN its official report of June 5 the German Admiralty Staff has described in brief outlines the victorious course of the naval battle at the Skagerrak. This account is confirmed in all details upon the basis of the more precise information which has since been received. The accompanying sketches illustrate in four periods the chief individual phases of the battle, while the accompanying map shows plainly the strategic importance of the German victory for the war position in the North Sea.



On May 31, at 4:35 P. M., our cruisers (1), proceeding ahead of the High Seas Fleet, sighted, seventy nautical miles to southwest of the Skagerrak, four small English cruisers of the Calliope class

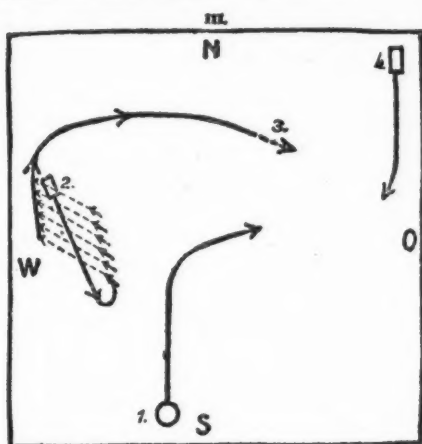
(2), which ran at highest speed northward, pursued by our cruisers.

At 5:30 our pursuing cruisers sight to the westward two further enemy columns (3), consisting of six battle cruisers, a considerable number of small cruisers and destroyers. Our cruisers take a course toward the new opponent—this becoming a course toward the south.



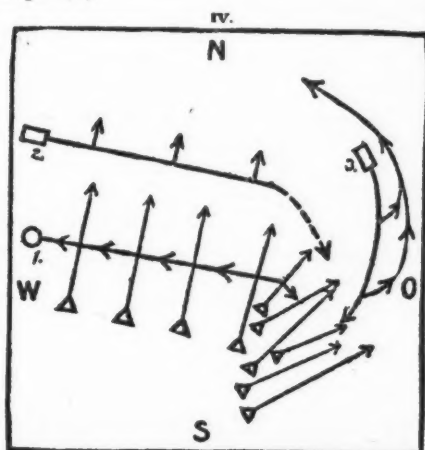
Our cruisers (1) (compare also sketch 1) have advanced to thirteen kilometers from the English battle cruisers and destroyers, which meanwhile have moved southward (2), and open fire on southerly to southeasterly courses. In the course of this fight two English battle cruisers and a destroyer were sunk. After half an hour's fighting powerful new enemy forces come in sight from the north of the enemy; they prove to be five ships of the Queen Elizabeth class (3). At the same time the main German force (4) approaches from the south and intervenes in the fight. Our cruisers place themselves ahead of their own main force.

The five big ships of the Queen Elizabeth class (compare sketch 2) have attached themselves to the enemy cruisers. The whole combined German fleet (1) is now steering northward, and in face of its attack the enemy (2) immediately turns



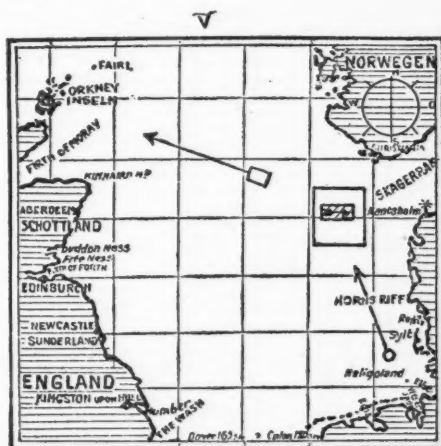
away to the north, and attempts at the highest speed to escape from our extremely effective fire, and at the same time, with an easterly course, and employing its speed, which is superior to that of our fleet as a whole, to pass (3) the head of our line, while the German battleship squadron in the rear of the line cannot yet get into action with the enemy. Our fleet, the cruisers still leading, follows the movement of the enemy at highest speed. An English cruiser of the Achilles class and two destroyers are sunk. This period of the battle lasts some two and a half hours.

Meanwhile, there approaches from the north, presumably coming from Norwegian waters, the English main force, consisting of more than twenty battleships (4).



The climax of the battle is reached.

Toward 10 o'clock all the German ships (1) are together facing the whole English fleet. At a distance of some fifteen nautical miles the battle now pursues its course eastward. While the English cruiser fleet (2) continues its attempts to catch up the head of our line, Admiral Jellicoe is striving to put himself with his large battleships (3) like the cross of a T in front of the head of our line. As the head of our line thus comes for a time under fire from both sides, Admiral Scheer throws the German line round on to a westerly course, and at the same time our torpedo boat flotillas (marked with triangles in the sketch) are ordered to attack the enemy, and they do so three times in succession with splendid vigor and visible success. A number of the large English battleships suffer severe damage, and one sinks before our eyes. By these attacks the English main fleet is driven away to the east, whence it will afterward have taken a north-westerly course homeward. The German fleet ceases its violent cannonade at 11:30, as the English had already stopped firing, and after nightfall there was nothing but the flash of their salvoes to give us a target. As the enemy cannot be found again the main battle is broken off.



- Area of Battle
- Battlefield & Course of Main Action
- Course of German Fleet's Advance
- Course of British Fleet's Retreat

During the night numerous cruiser fights and torpedo boat attacks develop

against individual enemy ships, which either had gone astray or had been ordered to worry us and to cover the retreat of the English. In these actions an enemy battle cruiser, a cruiser of the Achilles or Shannon class, several small enemy cruisers, and at least ten destroyers are sunk—six of them by the Westfalen alone.

A squadron of English battleships came up from the south, but not until June 1, after the battle was over, and it turned away without coming into action or even coming in sight of the main German force. It was observed by one of our Zeppelins, which, as is well known, owing to the foggy weather on the previous day, could not make reconnoissances until June 1.

## II.—THE BRITISH VIEW

*A British naval authority, writing with official sanction for The London Daily News, interprets Admiral Jellicoe's report in a very different diagram and commentary:*

Seen in its broadest aspect, the battle of Jutland stands out as a case of a tactical division of the fleet, which had the effect of bringing an unwilling enemy to battle. Such a method of forcing an action is drastic and necessarily attended with risk, but for great ends great risks must be taken, and in this case the risk was far less great than that which St. Vincent accepted off Cadiz, and that division gave us the battle of the Nile, the most complete and least debated of British victories. Then the two portions of St. Vincent's fleet were divided strategically with no prospect of tactical concentration for the battle.

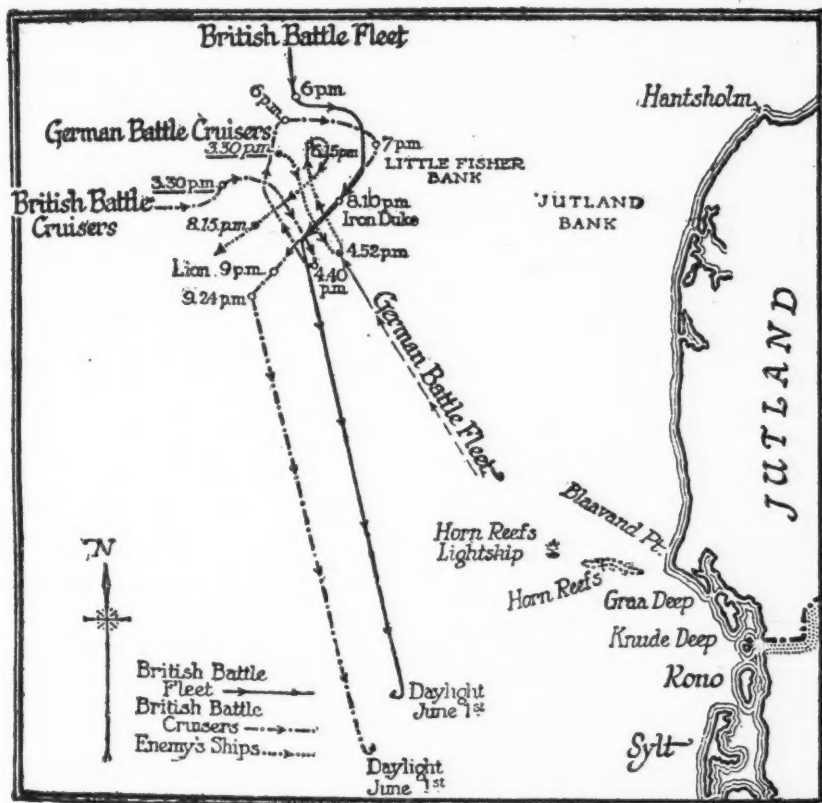
In the present case there was only an appearance of division. The battle fleet was to the north and the battle cruiser fleet to the south, but they formed in fact one fleet under a single command acting in combination. They were actually carrying out, as they had been in the habit of doing periodically, a combined sweep of the North Sea, and Admiral Beatty's fleet was in effect the observation or advanced squadron. The measure of the risk, should he have the fortune to find the enemy at sea, was

the length of the period which must necessarily elapse before the Commander in Chief would be able to join the battle. It was a risk that would be measured mainly by the skill with which Admiral Beatty could entice the enemy northward, without being overwhelmed by superior force.

In the light of this outstanding feature the action will be judged, and the handling of the battle cruiser fleet and the splendid group of four battleships that was attached to it appraised.

When Admiral Beatty got contact with the German battle cruisers they were proceeding northward and, being inferior to his force, they turned to the southward. The inference was they were either trying to escape or bent on leading him into danger. When such a doubt occurs there is in the British tradition a golden rule, and that is to attack "the enemy in sight." It was the rule that Nelson consecrated, and it was good enough for Admiral Beatty. He engaged and continued to engage as closely as he could till he found the enemy's battle fleet coming north. Then he turned, but he did not break off the action. The enemy was in overwhelming force, but by the golden rule it was his duty to cling to them as long as his teeth would hold. They had spread a net for him, and it was for him to see that they fell into the midst of it themselves. It was a task that demanded some courage. Yet he did not flinch, but continued the fight to the northward, and signaled the four Queen Elizabeths to turn sixteen points.

Now was the hour of greatest risk, but he was well disposed for concentrating on the van of the enemy's line, and the Commander in Chief was hurrying down at full speed. For an hour and a half the unequal battle raged as Admiral Beatty and Admiral Evan-Thomas led the enemy on, before Admiral Hood could appear with his battle cruiser squadron. The action was then at its hottest, but Admiral Hood, without a moment's hesitation, and in a manner that excited the high admiration of all who were privileged to witness it, placed his ships in line ahead of Admiral Beatty's squadron. No Admiral ever crowned an all too short



This chart must be taken as diagrammatic only, and as a general indication of the course of the battle from the time when the opposing battle cruisers sighted each other (3:30) until, owing to the growing darkness and the dispersal of the enemy's forces, it became impossible to continue the action as an organized whole. Sir David Beatty's successful manoeuvre in doubling the head of the enemy's line, and, reinforced by the battle fleet, establishing himself between the Germans and the Danish coast, is graphically shown. The enemy was compelled not only to make a complete turn, but to cross his original course almost at right angles after circling, and when the battle proper came to an end soon after 8:30 the bulk of the German fleet was heading southwest into the open sea with the British fleet between it and its bases.

It is amusing to recall that the most "authentic" German plan of this stage of the battle shows one arrow stretching from Denmark toward the Orkneys to indicate the line of the British retreat, and another from Heligoland, pointing north, to represent the Germans in chase. For comparative purposes it may be pointed out that the distance from Heligoland to Blaavand Point is ninety-three miles. The official tracks of the British fleet end at daylight on June 1, but it will be observed from Sir John Jellicoe's report that it was not until 1:15 P. M. that "course was shaped for our bases."

career more devotedly or in a manner more worthy of the name he bore.

With his fine manoeuvre the risk was in a measure reduced, but there still remained the more delicate work of the Grand Fleet effecting its junction and entering the ill-defined action. With the exact position of the enemy's fleet shrouded in smoke and in the gathering mist, the danger of interference was very great, and before the Commander in Chief lay a

task as difficult as any Admiral could be called upon to perform. To the last moment he kept his fleet in steaming order, so as to preserve up till the end the utmost freedom of deployment, but by what precise manoeuvres the deployment was carried out must for obvious reasons be left in a mist as deep as that which was hiding all that was most important for him to know. Suffice it to say that the junction was effected with consum-

mate judgment and dexterity. So nicely was it timed that the deployment was barely completed when, at 6:15 P. M., the first battle squadron came into action with the enemy, who had by that time turned to the eastward and was already attempting to avoid action.

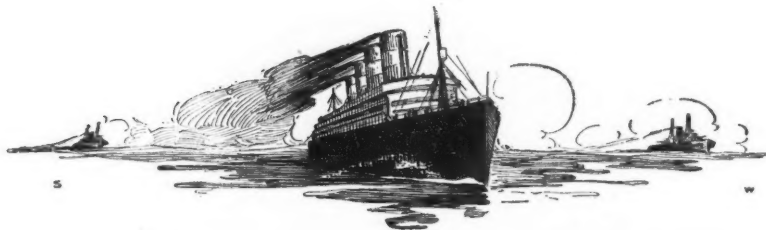
Thus the fine combination had succeeded, and the unwilling enemy had been brought to action against the concentrated British fleet. They had fallen into the midst of the net which had been drawn about them, but in the plan of the sweep there was inherent the inevitable limitation that the time left for completing the business could but barely suffice. There were hardly three hours of daylight left, and, as darkness approached, the action must be broken off unless a needless chance were to be given to the enemy for redressing his battle inferiority. Still our battle fleet was between the enemy and his base, and there would have been little hope of his escaping a decisive defeat but for the mist that robbed those who had prepared for the chance, and those who had seized it with so much skill and boldness, of the harvest they deserved.

It was a beaten and broken fleet that escaped the trap. It had lost many units, its gunnery had gone to pieces, and no one can blame its discretion if it fairly ran for home and left the British fleet once more in undisputed command of the North Sea.

For that, in a word, was the result of the battle. What it was the enemy hoped to achieve we cannot tell. Whatever their

effort meant it failed to shake our hold upon the sea, and that is what really matters. We have fought many indecisive actions, but few in which the strategical result was so indisputable, few which more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy's fleet could do. It is by such standards that history judges victories, and by such standards the country cherished the memory of the men that prepared and won them. Current opinion will always prefer the test of comparative losses. Let this be applied, and it will be found that the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories—none of which we obtained on a first attempt.

From another aspect it is clear the battle can rank beside any in our history. In the fringes of the fight, in the work, that is, of cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers, officers and men had chances such as their ancestors never knew, and they seized them with all the daring, the skill, and the devotion that the greatest of their predecessors could have hoped. From the vigorous offensive against the enemy's cruisers which cost Admiral Arbuthnot his life, to the least conspicuous of the destroyer exploits, all was of the same pattern. It is impossible to read of what they did and what they failed to do without feeling there is one thing at least which the battle has given us, and that is the assurance that the old spirit is still alive and vigorous. It is able and willing to do all the old navy could do, and in the battle of Jutland, as we now know, it has done it.



# Fifty Billions, Cost of Two Years' War

## War Loans in Detail

**T**HE belligerents have borrowed approximately \$40,000,000,000 in their two years of war and have spent some \$10,000,000,000 more from their own exchequers or from their creations of paper money. The total of \$50,000,000,000 compares with the generally accepted estimate of \$5,000,000,000 as the cost of our civil war. Two years of the European war have cost ten times as much as four years of our civil war.

The debt of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Turkey has increased from \$27,273,000,000 to \$66,638,000,000 in the two years, Great Britain, France, and Germany have each added more than \$14,000,000,000 to the sums they are bound to pay, Great Britain leading with more than \$15,000,000,000 of war indebtedness. Neutral nations, constrained to mobilize, have borrowed nearly half a billion.

The following tables, compiled by John Barnes, bond editor of The Wall Street Journal, give figures that tell the story:

### DEBTS IN 1914 AND 1916 (000 omitted.)

	Pre-War Debt.	Pres. Debt.
Great Britain.....	\$3,485,000	\$15,106,000
France .....	6,607,000	*14,966,000
Russia .....	4,537,000	10,363,000
Italy .....	2,836,000	4,301,000
Total for Allies.....	\$17,465,000	\$44,736,000
Germany, (emp. & Sts.).	5,198,000	14,291,000
Austria-Hungary .....	3,970,000	6,757,500
Turkey .....	640,000	854,000

Central Powers.....	\$9,808,000	\$21,902,500
Grand total.....	27,273,000	66,638,500

\*Includes advances from Bank of France.

### COST FOR TWO YEARS AND BY THE DAY

	Cost to Aug. 1.	Daily Cost.
Great Britain.....	\$11,190,000,000	\$25,000,000
France .....	9,000,000,000	17,000,000
Russia .....	8,770,000,000	18,000,000
Italy .....	2,500,000,000	8,000,000
Other Allies.....	1,580,000,000	4,000,000

Total Allies.....\$33,030,000,000 \$72,000,000

	Cost to Aug. 1.	Daily Cost.
Germany .....	11,500,000,000	22,000,000
Austria-Hungary ..	5,360,000,000	12,000,000
Turkey & Bulgaria.	800,000,000	1,500,000

Total Cent. Pow.	\$16,960,000,000	\$35,500,000
Grand total.....	49,890,000,000	107,500,000

### LOANS DUE TO THE WAR ALLIED LOANS

#### British Empire.

First war loan 3½s on 3.97 per cent. basis.....	\$1,750,000,000
Second war loan 4½s on 4.58 per cent. basis.....	2,970,000,000
Treasury bills to June 24.....	3,518,330,000
Exchequer 5s to June 30.....	1,383,098,000
Exchequer 3s, due 1920.....	239,710,000
War expenditure certificates to June 30.....	50,663,000
Other war debt to June 30.....	121,000,000
Estimate to Aug. 1.....	600,000,000
Half of Anglo-French loan in United States.....	250,000,000
Banking credit in Canada.....	101,000,000
Banking credit in United States.	*50,000,000
Canadian ten-year 4½s in London .....	25,000,000
Canadian one and two year 5s in United States.....	45,000,000
Canadian five, ten, and fifteen year 5s in United States.....	75,000,000
Canadian ten-year internal 5½s at 97½.....	100,000,000
Indian Government internal 4s.	15,000,000
Indian Treasury bills in London.	17,500,000
Australian 5s, at 99, in London.	10,000,000
Australian internal loan.....	50,000,000
Australian second internal loan.	250,000,000
Total.....	\$11,620,971,000

#### France.

"Loan of Victory" 5s at 87 on 5.75 per cent. basis.....	\$3,100,000,000
National defense bonds.....	*1,700,000,000
National defense obligations...	*300,000,000
Advances from Bank of France to June 29.....	1,580,000,000
Estimated to Aug. 1.....	500,000,000
Advances Bank of France to foreign Governments.....	228,000,000
Bonds and notes in London...	506,000,000
Half Anglo-French loan in U. S.	250,000,000
Collateral loan in United States	100,000,000
One-year 5 per cent. notes in United States.....	30,000,000
Banking credits in New York..	*50,000,000
Advances from Bank of Algeria	15,000,000

Total.....\$8,359,000,000

Russia.	
First internal 5s at 95 on 5.35 per cent. basis.....	\$257,500,000
Second internal loan.....	257,500,000
Third loan, five-year 5½s.....	515,000,000
Fourth loan, ten-year, 5½s at 95.....	515,000,000
Fifth loan, 5½s at 95.....	1,030,000,000
Four per cent. bonds.....	309,000,000
Treasury bills, 5 per cent.....	*2,000,000,000
Issues discounted in England.....	642,886,860
Issues in France.....	120,896,250
Special currency loan.....	103,000,000
Loan in Japan.....	25,000,000
Three-year 6½ per cent. credit in United States.....	50,000,000
Total.....	\$5,825,783,110

Italy.	
Twenty-five-year 4½s at 97....	\$200,000,000
Twenty-five-year 4½s at 95....	190,000,000
Twenty-five-year 5s at 97½....	800,000,000
English credit for war supplies.	250,000,000
One-year 6 per cent. notes in United States.....	25,000,000
Total.....	\$1,465,000,000

Belgium.	
From French and English Governments.....	\$218,000,000

Japan.	
Internal loan of 1914.....	\$26,000,000
Loan to refund bonds in France	20,000,000
Total.....	\$46,000,000

Serbia.	
From French Government.....	\$33,000,000
Total allied loans.....	\$27,567,754,110
Duplications.....	501,000,000

Net total allied loans.....\$27,066,754,110

#### GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN LOANS

Germany.	
First war loan 5s at 97½ on 5.32 per cent. basis.....	\$1,115,000,000
Second war loan 5s at 98½....	2,265,000,000
Third war loan.....	3,025,250,000
Fourth war loan 5s at 98½....	2,667,750,000
Bank loan in Sweden.....	10,000,000
Note issue in United States....	10,000,000
Total.....	\$9,093,000,000

Austria-Hungary.	
Austrian 5½s at 97½ on 6.10 per cent. basis.....	\$433,000,000
Hungarian 6s at 97½ on 6.70 per cent. basis.....	237,000,000
Austrian second war loan.....	534,000,000
Hungarian second and third...	230,000,000
Austrian third war loan.....	815,000,000
Hungarian war loan.....	240,000,000

Loan from German bankers....	113,500,000
Second loan in Germany.....	125,000,000
Credit in Germany.....	60,000,000

Total.....\$2,787,500,000

Turkey.	
First loan in Germany.....	\$108,000,000
Second loan in Germany.....	106,000,000
Total.....	\$214,000,000

Bulgaria.	
Loan from German bankers....	\$30,000,000
Total Central Power loans..	\$12,124,500,000

Grand total war loans.....\$39,191,254,110

#### NEUTRAL LOANS DUE TO WAR

Netherlands 5 per cent. internal loan.....	\$110,000,000
Netherlands India loan.....	25,000,000
One-year Treasury loan.....	8,000,000
Rumania 4 per cent. loan from Nat. Bank of Rumania....	40,000,000
Internal loan.....	30,000,000
Egypt, Treasury bills.....	25,000,000
Switzerland internal loan....	16,000,000
Internal 4½ per cent. loan...	20,000,000
Notes in United States.....	15,000,000
Internal 4½s at 97.....	20,000,000
Danish 4s and 5s.....	28,000,000
Spanish 4½s at par.....	10,000,000
Spanish 3s.....	14,800,000
Loan to refund bonds in France.....	40,000,000
Greece from England, France, and Russia.....	8,000,000
Internal 5s at 88½.....	23,000,000
Norway internal loans.....	8,000,000
Notes in United States.....	3,000,000
Seven-year 6s in United States	5,000,000
Sweden internal loans.....	9,380,000
Notes in United States.....	5,000,000

Total neutral loans.....\$463,180,000

Grand total loans due to war.\$39,654,434,110  
\*Estimated.

The daily cost of the war now approximates \$100,000,000, of which the Allies are spending two-thirds, or \$67,000,000, and the Teutons and Turks \$33,000,000. Probably the high rate of daily expenditure has been reached. The borrowing continues. Subscriptions are being received for the fourth Austrian and Hungarian loans. Germany and France are making ready for new forays on the purse. England is thinking of a great loan to refund Treasury bills and to maintain her position as banker for her allies. Russia, which is \$3,000,000,000 behind Great Britain, France, and Germany

in war loans, will borrow when the time is ripe.

### SECOND YEAR'S LIFE LOSSES

Estimates of casualties based on official data show that the second year of the war has cost more than 3,000,000 lives and has inflicted wounds on more than 6,000,000. Estimates for the first year ranged between the German report of 2,500,000 slain and more than 5,000,000 wounded and Beach Thomas's estimate of 5,000,000 killed and 7,000,000 wounded.

Up to the period of the present great offensives the British had lost in killed or totally incapacitated 228,138 and 68,046 in prisoners; Germany, respectively, 664,552 and 137,768; France, according to Deputy Longuet, 900,000 and 300,000. German reports of Russian casualties amounted to 3,000,000, of whom 1,000,000 were prisoners. Austria is just now trying to have her men up to 60 years enrolled.

### SECOND YEAR'S COST

Great Britain.....	\$7,670,000,000
France .....	6,643,000,000
Russia .....	4,118,000,000
Italy .....	2,464,000,000

Allies' total.....	\$20,895,000,000
Germany .....	\$9,075,000,000
Austria .....	3,000,000,000
Turkey .....	2,000,000,000
Bulgaria .....	150,000,000

Teutonic total.....\$14,225,000,000

### CONQUERED TERRITORY

	Square Miles.
Allies Hold In—	
Europe .....	700
Asia .....	52,000
The Pacific.....	96,160
Africa .....	600,000

Allies' gain.....748,860

Teutons Hold In—	
Belgium .....	11,000
France .....	9,000
Russia .....	80,000
Balkans .....	25,000

Teutonic gain.....125,000

### PRESENT EFFECTIVES

	Men.
Russia .....	9,000,000
France .....	6,000,000
Great Britain.....	5,000,000
Italy .....	3,000,000
Serbia and Belgium.....	300,000

Allies' total.....	23,300,000
Germany .....	7,000,000
Austria .....	3,000,000
Turkey .....	300,000
Bulgaria .....	300,000

Teutonic total.....10,600,000

### BATTLE FRONTS

In Europe—	Miles.
Western .....	590
Eastern .....	785
Italian .....	300
Balkan .....	110
In Asia, (intermittent).....	750
Africa, (intermittent).....	300

Total.....2,835

## The War's Effects on Prices in the United States

IT is interesting to study the European war's effects on American prices.

Our excess of exports over imports in the two years of war reached the amazing total of \$3,250,000,000, of which our munition exports alone, in the twenty-two months ending with May, 1916, amounted to \$458,000,000. Since then, that is, in June, July, and August, at least \$100,000,000 must have been added to the total. This extraordinary demand for our products has naturally affected prices of all commodities. In the first

few months there was uncertainty, then there were sensational advances, followed in time by a steady situation at a high level, which is the present condition. There has been a decline in acids and heavy chemicals; for illustration, caustic soda since January, 1916, has declined from 5¼ cents a pound to 3¼ cents; sulphuric acid from 3 to 1¼ cents, bleaching powder from 13 cents to 4½ or 5 cents, glycerine from 55 cents to 43½ cents, carbolic acid from \$1.40 or \$1.45 to 55 cents.

In drugs in general there is still a higher level of prices, as the following comparisons indicate:

	1914.	1916.
Acetanilid .....	\$0.20½	\$0.65
Alcohol .....	2.52	2.70
Borax .....	.04¼	.08¼
Chloroform .....	.20	.44
Opium .....	7.50	11.30
Quinine .....	.26	.61
Saltpetre .....	4.75	15.00
Soda benzoate .....	.24	6.00

In the metal markets the increase has been chiefly in copper, spelter, lead, iron, and steel, as the following figures prove:

	1914.	1916.
Pig iron, foundry.....	\$14.75	\$19.75
Pig iron, Bessemer.....	14.90	21.95
Billets, forging.....	25.00	69.00
Billets, wire rods.....	24.50	55.00
Steel bars.....	1.15	2.50
Wire nails.....	1.55	2.50
Cut nails.....	1.55	2.60
Barb wire.....	1.95	3.35
Aluminium .....	.18	.61
Copper .....	.13¾	.26½
Spelter .....	.05	.10
Lead .....	.039	.063
Tin .....	.316	.37½
Tin plate.....	3.49	6.24

The shortage of dyestuffs and the restriction of immigration of foreign textile laborers have raised the price of textiles, but the expansion of business has been considerable. Our imports of dry goods prior to the war exceeded exports by \$150,000,000; now the balance in our favor is \$15,000,000. Exports of cotton goods have doubled, of knit goods increased eightfold, of woollen goods tenfold, and we have invested hundreds of millions in dyestuff industries. The shortage of dyes still continues, and colorings which normally sell at 40 to 50 cents a pound are bringing \$20 or \$30. As to prices, the following are the latest comparisons:

	1914.	1916.
Brown sheetings.....	\$0.08	\$0.08¼
Wide sheetings .....	.30	.35
Bleached .....	.09¼	.09½
Ginghams .....	.06¼	.08
Prints .....	.03¾	.05¾
Silk .....	4.40	5.40
Wool .....	.27½	.38
Serge .....	1.20	1.67½

Cotton has had a violent advance recently, and 15-cent cotton is now predicted. October cotton was selling at 14 2-3 cents during August. A sharp advance is now expected in all cotton goods.

Wheat has had violent fluctuations since the war, going as high as \$1.67 a bushel in February, 1915, and as low as 99½ cents in June. In August there was a violent flurry on account of reports of short crops, and in ten days the price rose 20 cents a bushel, to \$1.50. At the same time flour of the baker's grade rose \$2 a barrel in the course of one month, reaching \$7.25.

Oils have had an advance, but it is said to be due to restricted flow and not to the war, as the exports have declined. Petroleum exports in 1915 showed a loss of 40,000,000 gallons. Gasoline had a sensational advance, rising from 11 cents a gallon to 26 cents. This is explained as due to the increased domestic demand and diminished production. Within the last few weeks there has been a rapid and sharp increase in prices of essential oils; they nearly all come from abroad, and shipments are very uncertain.

All household and building supplies have advanced from 10 per cent. to 60 per cent. since the war began, and food prices show fluctuating conditions, but always with an upward tendency.



# THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the constant seizure of German mail by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY is unable at present to obtain an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[English Cartoon]

## What Will His Harvest Be?



—From The Westminster Gazette.

[After a plate in Holbein's "Dance of Death."]

[Italian Cartoon]

## A Nocturne



—By Cesare Giris, Italian Artist.

The Birds That Follow the German Eagle.

[French Cartoon]

## The Emperor's Sowing



—A. Rouville in the Paris Journal.

He Sows Iron Crosses, but the Crosses That Spring Up by Thousands Are of Wood.

[Italian Cartoons]

## Drawings That Stirred Italy



The Murder of Nurse Cavell

—By T. Corbella.

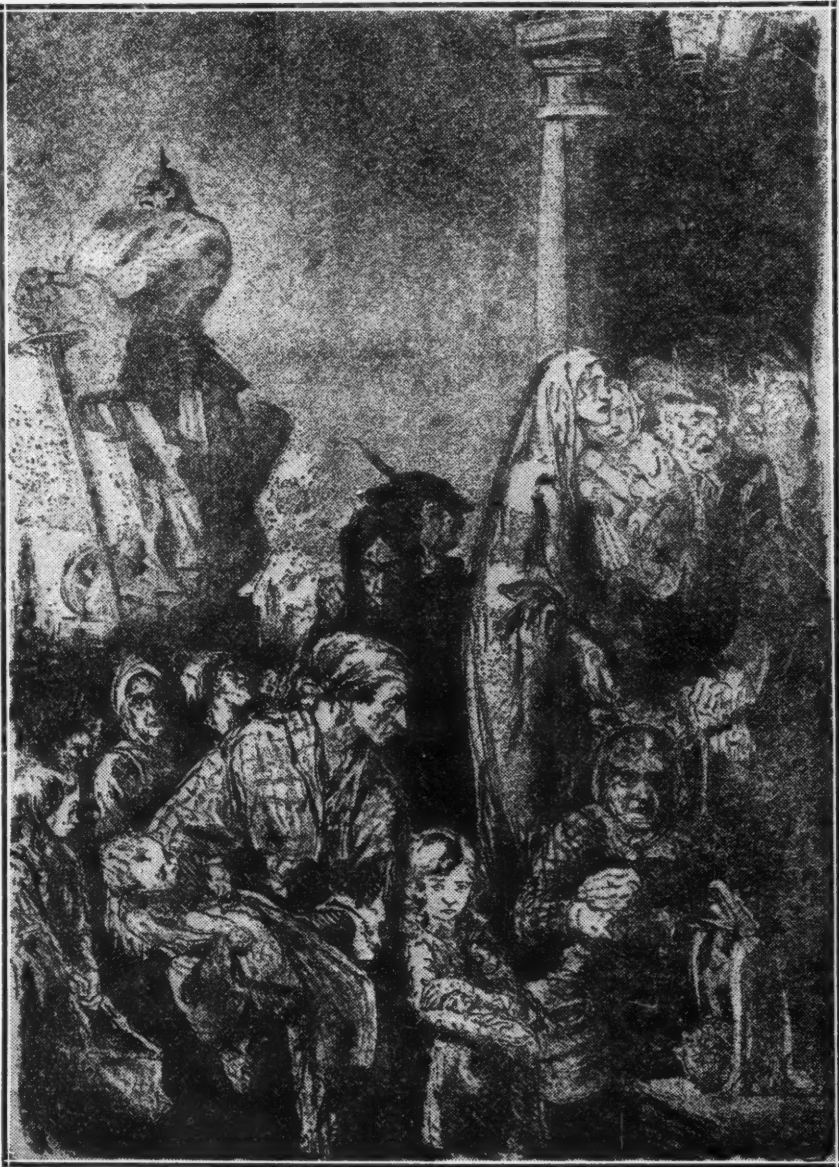


RHEIMS: An Allegory That Helped to Cause Italy to Enter the War.

—By Cesare Giris.

[English Cartoon]

## The Disillusioned

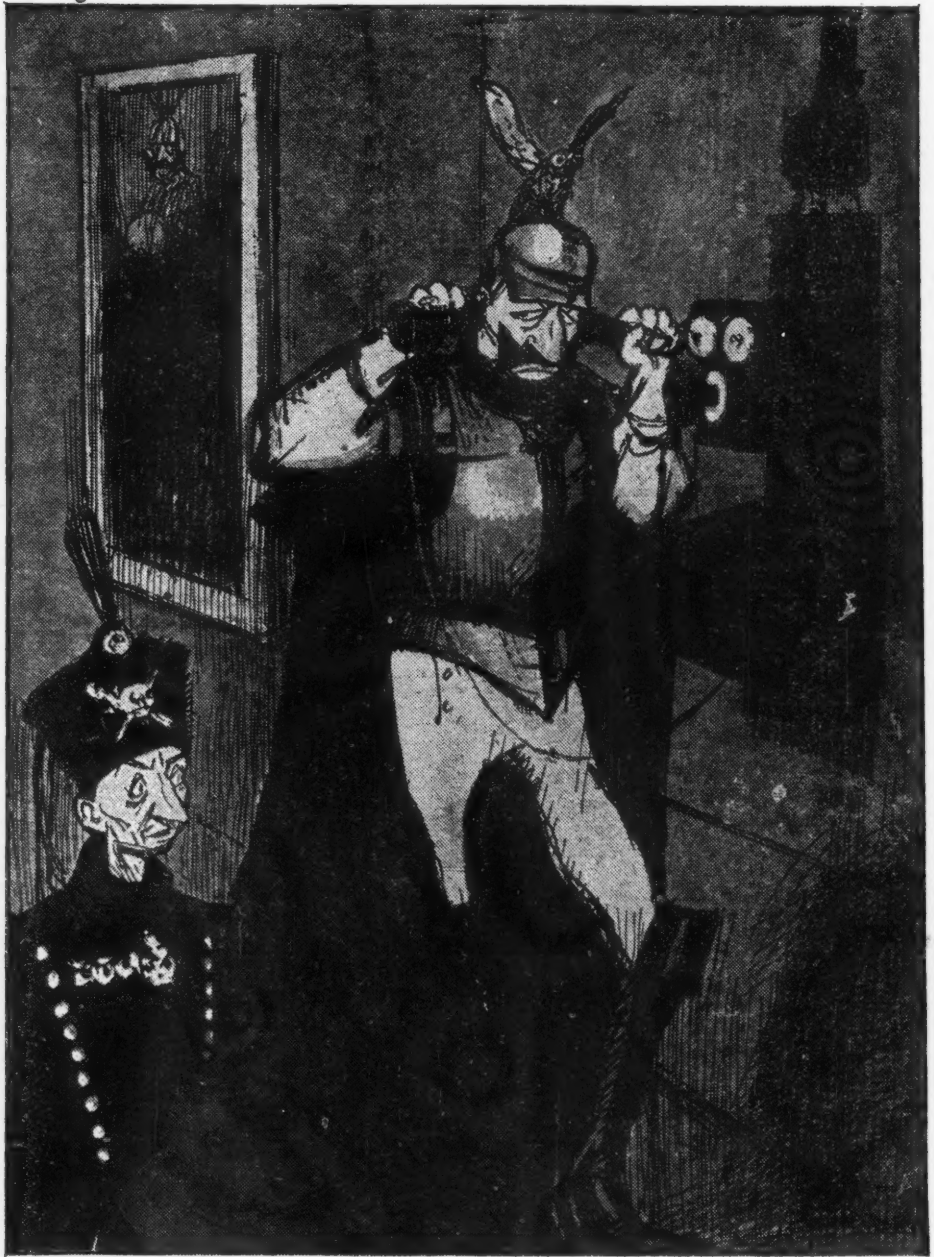


—By Will Dyson, Noted English Artist.

“We were promised the earth—and are given potato tickets.”

[Italian Cartoon]

## Communications Interrupted



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

"God don't answer any more. I'm afraid he is gone over to the Allies."

[French Cartoon]

## A Test of Courage



—© Le Rire, Paris.

"General, my little Dédé asked me to kiss you."  
"Well, what are you waiting for?"

[Italian Cartoons]

## The War Birds



The Vulture.



The Vampire.



The Screech Owl.

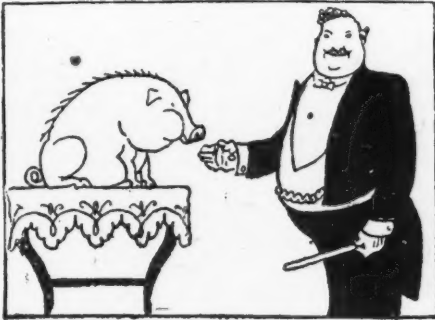


The Crow.

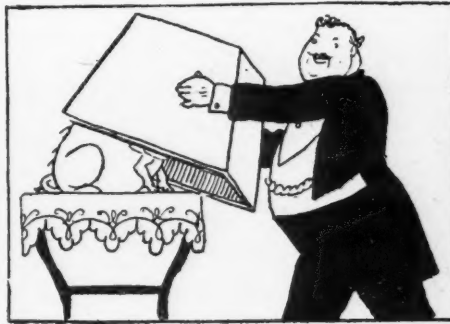
—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

[German Cartoon]

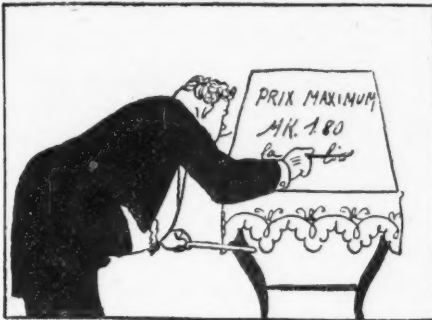
## Sleight of Hand



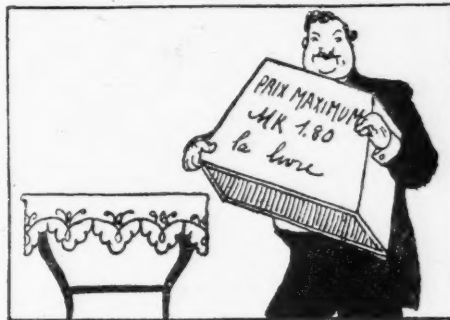
"Ladies and gentlemen, you see this pig. Come up on the platform and convince yourselves that it is alive."



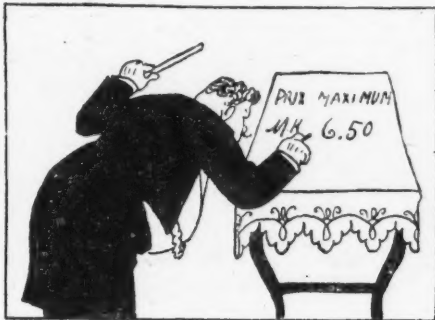
"I cover it with a pasteboard box that has neither a hole in it nor a false bottom, as you can see."



"Now I inscribe a magic formula on the box, and I strike it with my enchanted wand—"



I raise the box \* \* \* the pig has disappeared!



"Again I put down my box, and inscribe another formula. I wave my wand—"



—© *Simplicissimus*, Munich.  
—and the pig has returned!"

[Italian Cartoon]

## The Last Review



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

The Triumph of Militarism.

[French Cartoon]

## The German Bastille



—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

BRIAND: "It is tottering, Asquith; another effort and it will fall."

[French Cartoon]

## Another Atrocity



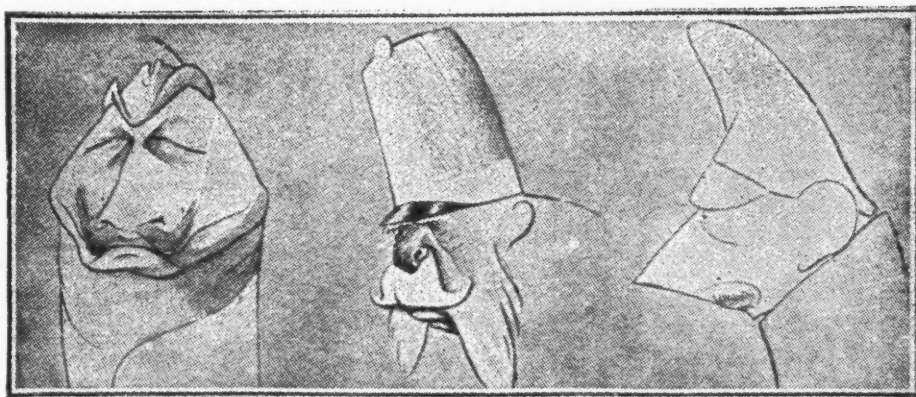
—Ricardo Flores in the Paris Journal.

"We Germans wish to rebuild Louvain."

"For mercy's sake, your Majesty, spare us this new crime."

[Italian Caricatures]

## A War Menagerie



—Drawings by Umberto Tirelli.

A Kaiser

An Emperor

A Crown Prince

[German Cartoon]

"Ungrateful Italy"



—© Lustige Blätter, Berlin.

Judas Itallano in the act of betraying his brother for 30,000,000 pieces of silver.

[American Cartoon]

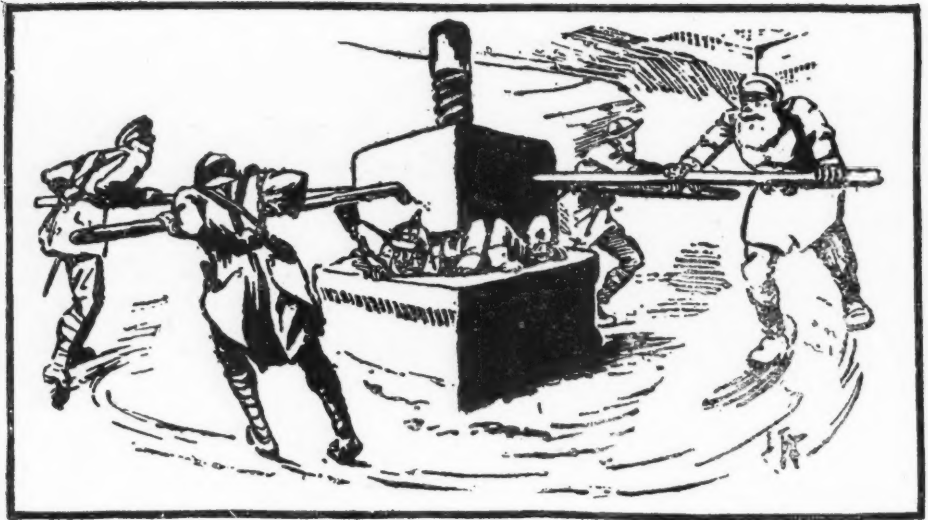
Do You See Anything, Watson?



—From The Baltimore American.

[French Cartoon]

## The Situation



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

THE KAISER: "Oh, the scoundrels! Now they are all working at the same time!"

[English Cartoon]

## A German Luxury



—From *London Opinion*.

FRITZ: "How goes it this morning?"

HANS: "Very well. I am just making a sandwich for myself with a meat card between two bread cards."

[French Cartoon]

## Toilet of the Austrian Eagle



—From *Le Temps*, Paris.

RUSSIA TO ITALY: "Hold it tight. I'll pull out the feathers."

[English Cartoon]

## La France



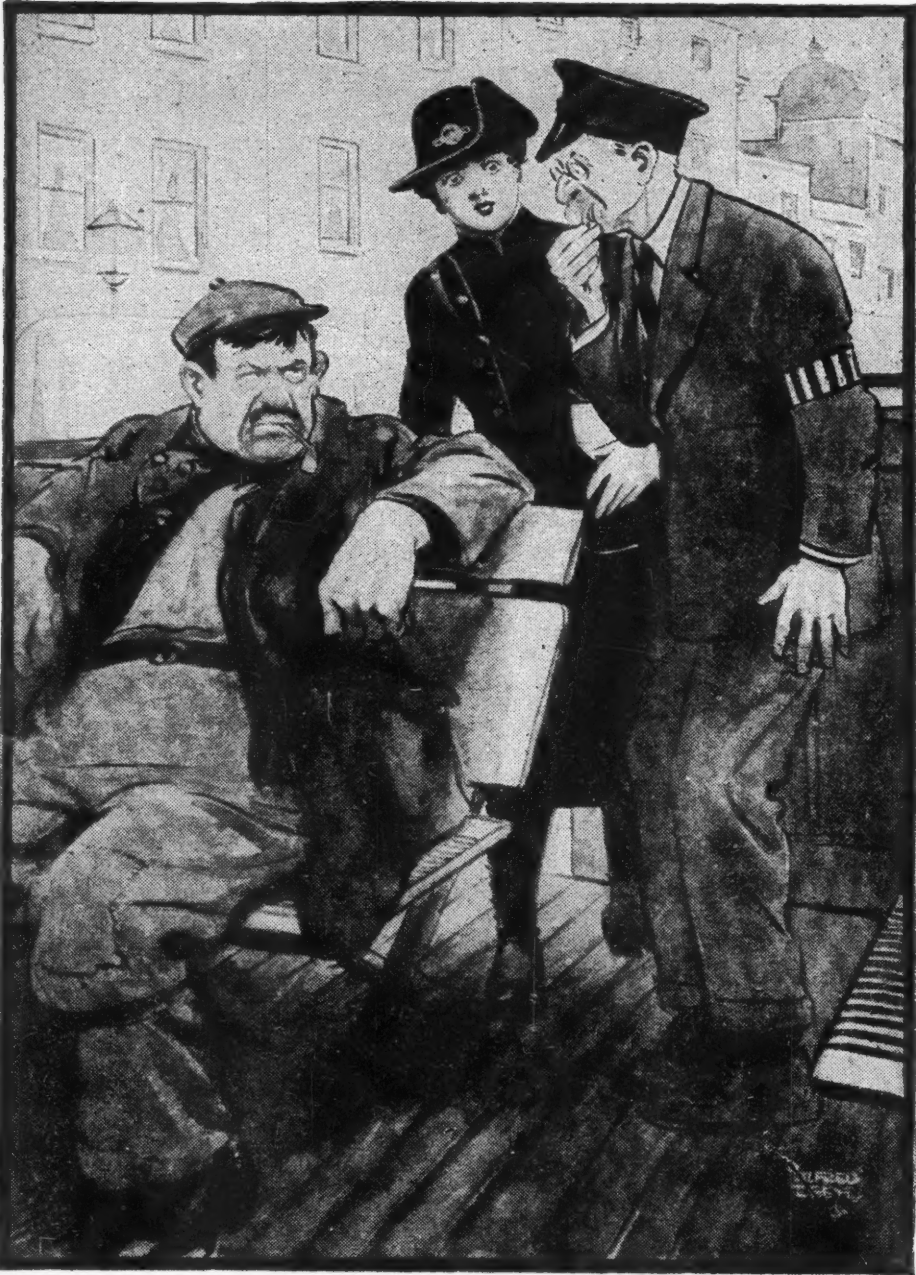
—From The Westminster Gazette.

[Suggested by the French Eagle at Pierrefonds.]

[English Cartoon]

## "Special Constables Should Use Discretion"

—(Extract from Manual.)



—From *The Bystander*, London.

WOMAN CONDUCTOR: "Will you deal with this man? He won't pay his fare and he won't get off the 'bus."  
SPECIAL CONSTABLE: "Er——er——well, how much IS his fare?"

[English Cartoon]

## "God Save Ireland!"



—Edmund J. Sullivan in *The London Chronicle*.  
[Apropos of the failure of the provisional home rule settlement.]

[French Cartoon]

## The Hour of Punishment



—© Le Rire, Paris.

The Last Trench, (Under the German Throne.)

[American Cartoon]

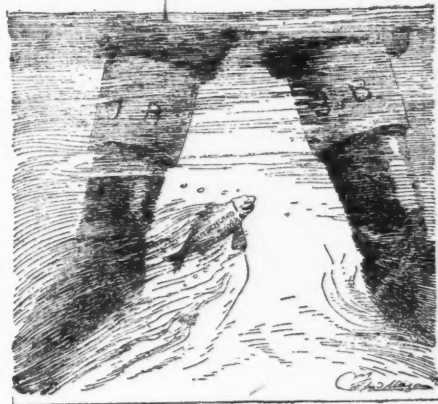
How Long Can He Keep It Up?



—© 1916, by The Philadelphia Inquirer Co.

[American Cartoon]

Oh Where and Oh Where Has That Deutschland Gone?



[German Cartoon]

Italy's Gauntlet



—© Kladderadatsch, Berlin.  
Not Fit to Touch.

[American Cartoon]

The Third Lap



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoon]

## The End of a Perfect Year



—From The New York Times.

# Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events  
From July 12 Up to and Including  
August 11, 1916

## CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- July 12—British retake the whole of Mametz Wood and repel two heavy German attacks against Contalmaison; Germans take French trenches at the junction of the Fleury and Vaux roads.
- July 14—British capture German second line from Bazentin-le-Petit to Longueval and the whole of Trones Wood.
- July 15—British cut German third line in Faureaux Wood and reach Pozières.
- July 17—British capture 1,500 yards of German second-line position northwest of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood and complete the capture of the village of Ovillers-la-Boisselle.
- July 18—British gain north of Ovillers; Germans south of the Somme gain ground near Biaches and attack near Longueval and Delville.
- July 19—British retake half of Delville Wood and all of Longueval.
- July 20—French advance on the Somme on front of 10½ miles and capture German first position from Estrées to the height of Vermando-Villers.
- July 23—British resume offensive from Pozières to Guillemont.
- July 26—British occupy whole of Pozières.
- July 27—Delville Wood taken by the British.
- July 30—British move their line forward east of Waterlot farm and Trones Wood.
- Aug. 2—French advance on three-mile front, from the Meuse at Vacherauville as far east as Fleury.
- Aug. 4—French reoccupy the greater part of Fleury.
- Aug. 5—British break through German second line north of Pozières on a front of nearly two miles.
- Aug. 6—Germans defeated in counterattacks northwest of Pozières.
- Aug. 8—British and French troops advance 300 to 500 yards on four-mile front near Guillemont; Germans gain near Pozières; recapture Thiaumont Wood and lose part of it again; French take second-line trenches on Vaux-le-Chapitre-Chenois front.
- Aug. 9—British advance 200 yards on 600-yard front northwest of Pozières; French gain north of Hem Wood.
- Aug. 11—French advance line to ridge south of Maurepas on road to Hem; British advance near Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit.

## CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- July 12—Austro-German and Russian armies locked on the Stokhod River.
- July 14—Teutonic offensive near Stobychwa, northeast of Kovel, fails.
- July 17—Part of General von Linsingen's army in Volhynia forced to retreat across the Lipa River.
- July 19—Russians cross the Carpathians and advance toward Hungary.
- July 20—Violent Russian offensive resumed in the Carpathians, at Kovel, Vladimir-Volynski, and in the Riga sector; Germans attack southwest of Lutsk.
- July 21—Russians flank General von Linsingen on the Styr and force him across the Lipa at several points.
- July 22—Russians pierce the German lines at several points south of Riga; forces moving south on the railway from Delatyn reach the Carpathian Pass.
- July 23—Austrian forces in the Carpathians thrown back into the Jablonitza Pass; Russians are within four miles of the Hungarian frontier; General Kuropatkin's forces pierce Hindenburg's Riga line five miles.
- July 24—Russians advance on the Riga front from the Gulf of Riga to Uxkull.
- July 29—Russians cross the Stokhod River at Gulevich and press the Teutons along the entire front from the Kovel-Lutsk railway.
- July 31—Russians cross the Stokhod River on a 27-mile front in drive at Kovel.
- Aug. 1—Russians in Southeastern Galicia cross the Koropiec River.
- Aug. 4—Russians advance on the Rudka-Merynskaia railroad to the Stavok River.
- Aug. 5—Russians cross the River Sereth south of Brody and capture two villages; Archduke Charles Francis begins an attack in the Carpathians against General Lechitsky's army.
- Aug. 6—Russians take six villages south of the Sereth River.
- Aug. 7—Austrians reported falling back along the Lemberg railroad from the Tarnopol region; Russians capture more positions south of Brody and trenches on the Stokhod front.
- Aug. 8—Russians advance on ten-mile front in Galicia, take Tlumach and capture group of villages centring around Zalocze; civilians ordered out of Lemberg.
- Aug. 9—Russians take Tysmienitza, push on

toward Stanislaw and cross Koropiec River.

Aug. 10—General Lechitsky captures Kryplin, crosses Zlota Lipa River on the way to Halicz; Austrians in Lemberg reinforced by 150,000 Turks.

Aug. 11—Russians take Stanislaw, pierce General Bothmer's front in Galicia in three places, take Monasterzyska and compel Teutons to retire from Gliadka and Voroblevsk; General Bothmer's right flank retreats on Halicz, left also falls back.

### ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 14—Italians blow up the summit of Castelletto in the Tofana region.

July 15—Italians take the town of Vanzl on Monte Hellugio.

July 19—Austrians repulsed in Pasubio sector.

July 21—Italian artillery bombards Riva, Arco, and Rovereto in the Adige Valley and Doberdo, Jamiano, and St. Giovanni on the Isonzo front; Austrians shell Monfalcone.

July 23—Italians advance along the Posina line and storm Dolomite positions.

July 25—Monte Cimone captured by the Italians.

July 29-Aug. 1—Italians repel attempts to recapture Monte Cimone.

Aug. 2—Austrians severely defeated in attacks on Italian lines at Seluggio, Castelletto, and Monte Cimone.

Aug. 7—Italians capture important positions commanding communications between the Travenanzes Valley and the Sare torrent in the Gader Valley; Austrian attacks on the slopes of Monte Zebio checked.

Aug. 8—Italians captured Sabotino and San Michele Mountains and Gorizia bridgehead in offensive begun Aug. 6.

Aug. 9—Gorizia captured by Italians; Austrians abandon nearly all principal positions on Isonzo and Carso fronts.

Aug. 10—Italians capture Boschini northeast of Gorizia.

Aug. 11—Italians occupy whole Doberdo Plateau, capture Rubbia and San Martino del Carso, and reach Vallone River in advance on 12-mile front.

### BALKAN CAMPAIGN

July 18—Cannonading along the entire Saloniki front.

July 27—Serbs begin an attack on Bulgar positions within the Greek border.

Aug. 6—Serbs take the village of Pemli, near Proska, which had been occupied by the Bulgars.

Aug. 11—Allies occupy Doiran station and nearby hill.

### ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

July 12—Russians capture the town of Makhatum, fifty miles west of Erzerum.

July 16—Russians capture Baiburt.

July 22—Russians occupy Ardasa on the Caucasus front; Turks advance to within thirty miles of the Suez Canal.

July 24—Russians in Armenia advance within fifteen miles of Erzengan; Turks claim victory in Persia, east of Pzandoz.

July 26—Russians capture Erzengan.

July 31—Turks advance in Egypt to a ridge nine miles from Romani.

Aug. 3—Turks drive Russians from Sakiz and reach Bukan.

Aug. 4—Turks attack British positions near Romani, east of Port Said, in attempt to reach the Suez Canal.

Aug. 5—British defeat Turkish force at Romani and pursue them for eighteen miles.

Aug. 9—Russians give up Bitlis and Mush; Turks force British cavalry to retreat near Suez Canal.

Aug. 11—Turks force Russians to retire from Hamadan, Persia.

### GERMAN EAST AFRICA

July 14—British occupy Muanza, on the southern shore of Lake Victoria.

July 22—British occupy Muheza and Amani and capture the Usambara Railway.

July 24—General Northey defeats German forces at Malangali and advances toward Madibira.

### NAVAL RECORD

Russia formally announced that in reprisal for the torpedoing of the Portugal and the Vperiode, she would attack Turkish hospital ships.

German submarines have renewed their activity in the war zone. Belligerents' losses included twenty-six British, one Japanese, four French, and six Italian ships. In addition to these, many neutral vessels have been destroyed, including one Dutch, five Norwegian, two Finnish, three Danish, six Swedish, and one Greek. Many lives were lost in an attack on the Italian mail steamer Letimbro.

Germans capture Danish excursion boat Ydun with 200 children aboard.

### MISCELLANEOUS

Judge Waddill of the United States District Court held that the steamer Appam is still the property of her British owners, but refused a petition that she be delivered to libellants. The German Government filed a formal petition in the Supreme Court for a new trial, giving a \$2,000,000 super-seedeas bond.

The last forts of Mecca surrendered to the Arabian rebels, who later besieged the Turkish garrison at Medina. There were heavy casualties on both sides.

German Government issued a revised list of contraband and announced that German warships were ordered to destroy all ships carrying contraband.

# The Wonderful Mission of the Internal Bath

By C. G. Percival, M. D.

**D**O YOU KNOW that over three hundred thousand Americans are at the present time seeking freedom from small, as well as serious, ailments by the practice of Internal Bathing?

Do you know that hosts of enlightened physicians all over the country, as well as osteopaths, physical culturists, etc., etc., are recommending and recognizing this practice as the most likely way now known to secure and preserve perfect health?

There are the best of logical reasons for this practice, and these opinions and these reasons will be very interesting to everyone.

In the first place, every physician realizes and agrees that ninety-five per cent. of human illness is caused directly or indirectly by accumulated waste in the colon; this is bound to accumulate, because we of today neither eat the kind of food nor take the amount of exercise which Nature demands in order that she may thoroughly eliminate the waste unaided—

That's the reason when you are ill the physician always gives you something to remove this accumulation of waste, before commencing to treat your specific trouble.

It's ten to one that no specific trouble would have developed if there were no accumulation of waste in the colon—

And that's the reason that the famous Professor Metchnikoff, one of the world's greatest scientists, has boldly and specifically stated that if our colons were taken away in infancy, the length of our lives would be increased to probably 150 years.

You see, this waste is extremely poisonous, and as the blood flows through the walls of the colon it absorbs the poisons and carries them through the circulation—that's what causes auto-intoxication, with all its perniciously enervating and weakening results. These pull down our powers of resistance and render us subject to al-

most any serious complaint which may be prevalent at the time. And the worst feature of it is that there are few of us who really know when we are auto-intoxicated.

But you never can be auto-intoxicated if you periodically use the proper kind of an Internal Bath—that is sure.

It is Nature's own relief and corrector—just warm water, which, used in the right way, cleanses the colon thoroughly its entire length and makes and keeps it sweet, clean and pure as Nature demands it shall be for the entire system to work properly.

The following enlightening news article is quoted from the *New York Times*:

"What may lead to a remarkable advance in the operative treatment of certain forms of tuberculosis is said to have been achieved at Guy's Hospital. Briefly, the operation of the removal of the lower intestine has been applied to cases of tuberculosis, and the results are said to be in every way satisfactory.

"The principle of the treatment is the removal of the cause of the disease. Recent researches of Metchnikoff and others have led doctors to suppose that many conditions of chronic ill-health, such as nervous debility, rheumatism, and other disorders, are due to poisoning set up by unhealthy conditions in the large intestine, and it has even been suggested that the lowering of the vitality resulting from such poisoning is favorable to the development of cancer and tuberculosis.

"At Guy's Hospital Sir William Arbuthnot Lane decided on the heroic plan of removing the diseased organ. A child who appeared in the final stage of what was believed to be an incurable form of tubercular joint disease was operated on. The lower intestine, with the exception of nine inches, was removed, and the portion left was joined to the smaller intestine.

"The result was astonishing. In a week's time the internal organs resumed all their

normal functions, and in a few weeks the patient was apparently in perfect health."

You undoubtedly know from your own personal experience how dull and unfit to work or think properly biliousness and many other apparently simple troubles make you feel. And you probably know, too, that these irregularities, all directly traceable to accumulated waste, make you really sick if permitted to continue. You also probably know that the old-fashioned method of drugging for these complaints is at best only partially effective; the doses must be increased if continued, and finally they cease to be effective at all.

It is true that more drugs are probably used for this than all other human ills combined, which simply goes to prove how universal the trouble caused by accumulated waste really is—but there is not a doubt that drugs are being dropped as Internal Bathing is becoming better known—

For it is not possible to conceive, until you have had the experience yourself, what a wonderful bracer an Internal Bath really

is; taken at night, you awake in the morning with a feeling of lightness and buoyancy that cannot be described—you are absolutely clean, everything is working in perfect accord, your appetite is better, your brain is clearer, and you feel full of vim and confidence for the day's duties.

There is nothing new about Internal Baths except the way of administering them. Some years ago Dr. Chas. A. Tyrrell, of New York, was so miraculously benefited by faithfully using the method then in vogue that he made Internal Baths his special study and improved materially in administering the Bath and in getting the result desired. This perfected Bath he called the "J. B. L. Cascade," and it is the one which has so quickly popularized and recommended itself that hundreds of thousands are today using it.

Dr. Tyrrell, in his practice and researches, discovered many unique and interesting facts in connection with this subject; these he has collected in a little book, "The What, the Why, the Way of Internal Bathing," which will be sent free on request if you address Chas. A. Tyrrell, M. D., 134 West 65th Street, New York City, and mention having read this in Current History Magazine.

This book tells us facts that we never knew about ourselves before, and there is no doubt that everyone who has an interest in his or her own physical well-being, or that of the family, will be very greatly instructed and enlightened by reading this carefully prepared and scientifically correct little book.

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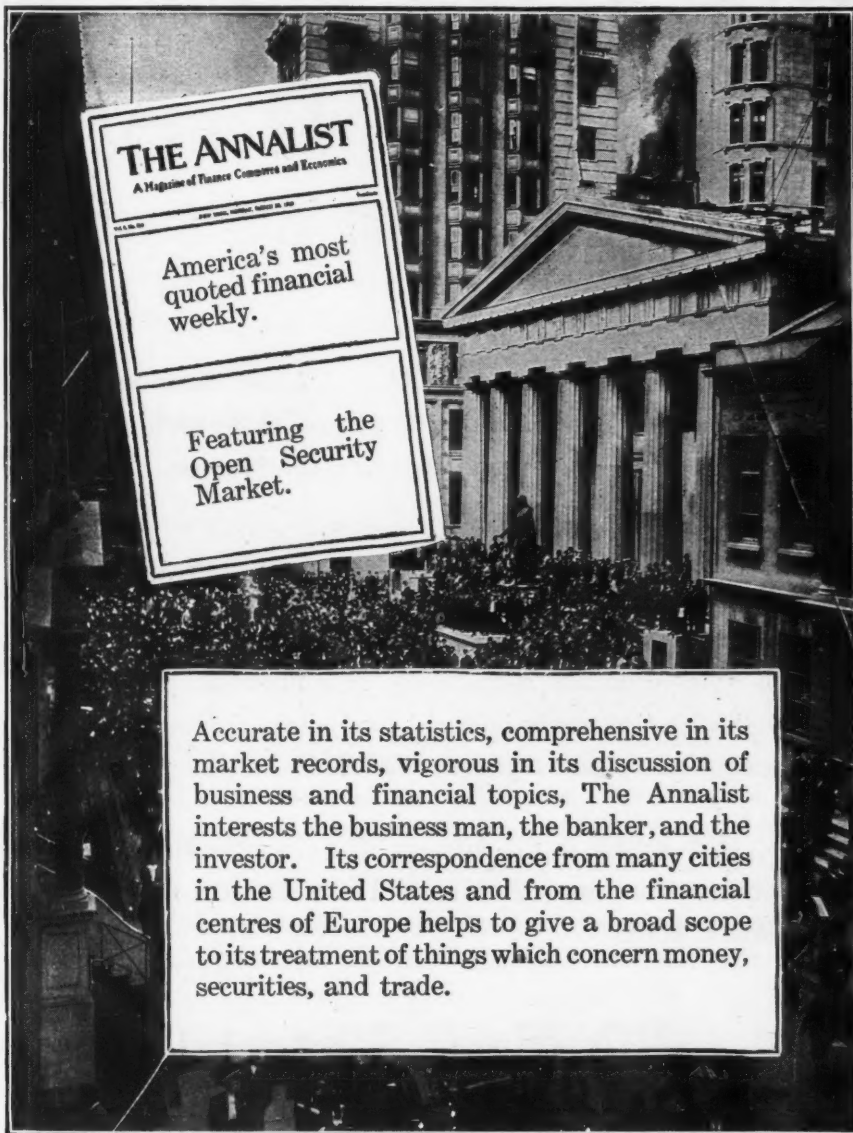
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